

## **EXHIBIT 19**

## Expert Report

Daniel A. Smith, Ph.D.\*

October 5, 2020

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "D. A. Smith", is centered on the page. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Daniel A. Smith, Ph.D.

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# 1 Purpose of engagement

1 Counsel for the Plaintiffs in *Texas League of United Latin American Citizens, et al. v. Abbott, et al.*, have engaged me to form expert opinions on several issues related to Governor Abbott's October 1, 2020 order prohibiting county election officials from providing more than one physical absentee ballot drop-off location in their county at which voters may return their absentee ballot. Specifically, I have been asked to assess the following:

- a) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for Texas' registered voters generally;
- b) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for a county's registered voters who have voted a mail ballot in previous elections;
- c) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for a county's registered voters who are 65 and older and who may request and vote an absentee ballot without an excuse;
- d) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for a county's Hispanic registered voters who have taken into their physical health conditions and health history and may decide, under the COVID-19 circumstances, vote an absentee ballot due to a disability;
- e) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for a county's population that is disabled and who may request and vote an absentee ballot without an excuse;
- f) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for a county's population that works in a

county in which they do not live, and thus may be out of their county on Election Day and during early voting, and who may request and vote an absentee ballot without an excuse, or lives in a household with no access to a vehicle and may not be able to travel easily to a remote drop-off location; and

- g) whether limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for the two counties (Harris and Travis) that previously had announced multiple absentee ballot drop-off locations.

## 2 Qualifications

**2** I am Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, at the University of Florida. I received my doctorate in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1994. I am also President of ElectionSmith based in Gainesville, FL, which specializes in empirical research on electoral processes in the American states.

**3** For over 25 years, I have conducted research on electoral politics in the American states, focusing on the effect of political institutions on political behavior. I have written extensively on election administration in the American states, including the effects of changes of election laws and rules on voter participation and turnout. I have published more than 80 articles and book chapters, including many that have appeared in the discipline's top peer-reviewed journals. My research has been cited over 3,000 times by academics. In addition, I have published two academic books on electoral politics in the American states and am the coauthor of a leading college textbook, *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*, which includes several discussions of state voting laws, election administration, and voter participation and turnout, including in Texas. I have taught an array of undergrad-

uate and graduate courses focusing on American political institutions, voting and election administration, and political behavior in the American states, including Texas.

4 I have testified before the U.S. Senate and state legislatures on voting and election issues. A former Senior Fulbright Scholar, I have received numerous grants and awards for my work on campaigns and elections, including from the U.S. Department of State and the American Political Science Association ("APSA"). I am a past-President of the State Politics and Policy Section of the APSA. In 2010, I was the lead author of the "Direct Democracy Scholars" *amicus* brief in *Doe v. Reed*, which was successfully argued by the Attorney General of the state of Washington before the U.S. Supreme Court, and my scholarship has been cited in an opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court. My *curriculum vitae* is attached to this report as Appendix B.

5 I have served as an expert in election-related litigation in several states, hired by both plaintiffs and defendants (including serving as an expert for the State of Florida, the State of Colorado, and the State of California to defend their election laws). I have provided written reports and testified at federal trial in *Jones v. Ron DeSantis, etc. et al.* (Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300, N.D. Fla.), where the court cited my analysis of individuals convicted of a felony in Florida who are eligible, but for legal financial obligations, to have their voting rights restored, and *American Civil Rights Union v. Snipes* (Case No. 16-cv-61474, S.D. Fla.), where the court accepted my opinion in whole; and have provided written reports for plaintiffs in *Fair Fight Action v. Crittenden* (Case No. 1:18-cv-05391, N.D. Ga.), *DNC Services Corporation et al. v. Lee et al.* (Case No. 4:18-cv-520 (RH/MJF, N.D. Fla.), *MOVE Texas Civic Fund, et. al. v. Whitley, et. al.* (Case No. 3:19-cv-00041, S.D. Tex.), and *Thompson, et al. v. Merrill, et al.* (Case No. 2:16-cv-783-ECM-SMD), and

for defendants in *Judicial Watch, Inc., Election Integrity Project California, Inc. et al. v. Dean C. Logan, et al.* (Case No. 2:17-cv-08948-R-SK, C.D. Cal.), for successful plaintiffs in *Rivera v. Detzner* (Case No. 1:18-cv-00152, N.D. Fla.), for plaintiffs in *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute, et al. v. Secretary of State, Jon Husted* (Case No. 2:16-cv-00303, S.D. Ohio), for successful plaintiff-intervenors in *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott* (Case No. 4:16-cv-00626, N.D. Fla.), for successful plaintiffs in *Florida Democratic Party v. Detzner* (Case No. 4:16-cv-00607, N.D. Fla.), and for successful plaintiffs in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* (Case No. 4:18-cv-00251, N.D. Fla.). All of these cases relate to aspects of election law and election administration.

6 I am well-versed on this topic, my methods are reliable and appropriate in the discipline of political science, and I have written extensively about election procedures, including voting by mail (absentee) voting over the past decade. My opinions result from applying social science methods to address questions concerning burdens registered voters in Texas face should they choose to cast an absentee ballot in person at a county’s sole drop-off location in the 2020 General Election.

7 I am being paid at a rate of \$500/hour for work in this litigation. My compensation is contingent neither on the results of the analyses described herein nor on the contents of my report.

### 3 Summary of findings

8 Overall, of the more than 16.2 million registered voters in Texas as of March 2020, over 14.3 million—some 88.1% of all registered voters in Texas—are registered to vote with

an address that does not have an absentee ballot drop-off location in their zip code.

**9** Given the increase in the demand by Texas voters requesting absentee ballots and the associated concerns with delivery times by the United States Postal Service (USPS) just weeks prior to the November 3, 2020 General Election, Governor Abbott's order to limit the return of absentee ballots to just one drop-off location per county will likely have disparate effects on Texas' registered voters. This includes Texas' voters who regularly cast an absentee ballot, voters who are 65 and older, Hispanic voters across the state's 254 counties, and individuals who have a disability or who are sick, and those who work outside of their county of residence. All of these groups of individuals across many of Texas' 254 counties—particularly those with the greatest numbers of registered voters—will likely face additional burdens when trying to deliver their absentee ballot in person if counties are limited to providing just one absentee ballot drop-off location.

**10** All registered voters who are eligible to vote by mail in Texas are potentially burdened by having only one drop-off location in a county for them to deliver in person their absentee ballot should they opt not to post it, but some face greater barriers than others. If a county is permitted only one drop-off location for voters who prefer to return their absentee ballot in person, voters face increased burdens (what political scientists often refer to as "costs of voting"), including *time*, *transportation*, *information*, as well as *health*.

**11** Texas severely limits the ability of most of its registered voters to request and cast an absentee ballot more than most other states (Li, Pomante II & Schraufnagel 2018).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Texas limits who is eligible to vote absentee to individuals who (1) will be away from their county on Election Day and during early voting; (2) are sick or have a disability; (3) are 65 years of age or older on Election Day; or (4) are confined in jail, but eligible to vote. A registered voter

According to Li, Pomante II & Schraufnagel (2018), whose article is prominently titled, "Cost of Voting in the American States," Texas ranks fifth on the authors' Cost of Voting Index, indicating that the aggregate cost of voting in Texas (which incorporates registration deadlines, restrictions on voter registrations, registration drive restrictions, preregistration laws, convenience voting, voter identification laws, and poll hours) is higher than that of all but a handful of other states.

**12** Despite the limits placed on absentee voting in Texas, there is every reason to expect an increase in the demand by voters to request and vote an absentee ballot, due to risks associated with being exposed to the coronavirus. Indeed, in the March 2020 presidential primaries, which were held just ahead of the spike in positive COVID-19 cases in Texas, there was a jump in the demand by voters for absentee ballots. In the March 3, 2020 presidential primary elections, a total of more than 4.1 million voters turned out to vote.<sup>2</sup> In the 2020 Democratic presidential primary, over 146,000 voters cast VBM ballots, amounting to approximately 6.90 percent of total ballots cast. In the 2020 Republican presidential primary, over 112,000 voters cast VBM ballots, or approximately 5.59 percent

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wishing to cast an absentee ballot must complete an application to receive an absentee ballot and submit it to the early voting clerk in the county in which they are registered. Applications must be received at least 11 days before the election in which the voter seeks to request a ballot by mail. Those who are eligible to request a VBM ballot may have their ballot sent to them for the calendar year. According to Texas Election Code, "SUBMITTING APPLICATION FOR BALLOT VOTED BY MAIL: GENERAL RULE," TITLE 7. §84.007(c), "an application may be submitted at any time in the year of the election for which a ballot is requested, but not later than the close of regular business in the early voting clerk's office or 12 noon, whichever is later, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day before election day unless that day is a Saturday, Sunday, or legal state or national holiday, in which case the last day is the first preceding regular business day."

<sup>2</sup>The total number of ballots cast exceeds the total number of votes cast for the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in the two primaries. See Texas Secretary of State, "Official Canvass Report 2020 MARCH 3RD DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, March 03, 2020," available at <https://results.texas-election.com/static/data/Reports/44145/CanvasReport.pdf?v=1592070033056> and Texas Secretary of State, "Official Canvass Report 2020 MARCH 3RD REPUBLICAN PRIMARY," March 3, 2020, available at <https://results.texas-election.com/static/data/Reports/44146/CanvasReport.pdf?v=1592071449356> (last accessed October 3, 2020).



of all ballots cast. The November 2020 General Election will likely have a record number of voters requesting and casting absentee ballots.

**13** Due to Governor Abbott’s decision to limit absentee ballot drop-off locations, voters who have requested an absentee ballot for the November election across Texas’ 254 counties will face barriers to casting their absentee ballot in person in drastically different ways.<sup>3</sup> Depending on a county’s population size, the rate of a county’s voters who have cast absentee ballots in past elections, the rate of a county’s registered voters 65 and older, the racial and ethnic composition of registered voters and the Voting Age Population (VAP) more broadly in a county, the rate of a county’s VAP that lives in one Texas county but works in a different county, and perhaps most importantly during a health pandemic, the rate a county’s VAP with a disability or illness, there can be drastic burdens placed on voters wanting to drop off their absentee ballot in person if a county is permitted only one absentee ballot drop-off location. In short, I find that the burdens placed on voters in Texas do not fall equitably across the state’s 254 counties.<sup>4</sup>

**14** Specifically, I find that the large majority of registered voters residing in heavily populated counties face greater time, transportation, information, and health costs, as they must now travel to an absentee ballot drop-off location that is not within the same zip code in which they are registered to vote. Logically, because of these much higher rates of registered voters forced to be processed at a single absentee ballot drop-off location, absentee voters in

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<sup>3</sup>Individuals who decide relatively late to request an absentee ballot may be particularly likely to cast a ballot in person at a drop-off location, as they may be concerned about postal delays returning their mail ballot to be counted.

<sup>4</sup>Every single state in the country has suffered deaths from COVID-19. See “Daily Updates of Totals by Week and State,” *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, October 3, , 2020, available at <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/covid19/index.htm> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

densely populated counties will likely also to have to wait in longer lines at the sole absentee ballot drop-off location. In the process of congregating with other absentee voters while waiting to drop off their absentee ballots, voters in counties with large numbers of registered voters will likely be subjugated to greater health risks during the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>5</sup> By limiting the number of absentee ballot drop-off sites, voters (and poll workers) will face more congestion, potentially longer voting lines, and a resulting increase in infection risk.

**15** I also find that the percentage of registered voters who voted an absentee ballot in previous statewide elections, registered voters who are 65 and older, and registered voters with a Hispanic surname in a county are more likely to not reside in the same zip code as where the county's absentee ballot drop-off site is located. Furthermore, I find that a county's Hispanic registered voters, a county's VAP that is disabled or sick, or a county's VAP that works in another county, are more likely to not reside in the same zip code as where the county's absentee ballot drop-off site is located.

**16** These burdens are not hypothetical for registered voters in Harris and Travis counties who had planned on delivering their absentee ballot in person to one of the several drop-off locations the two counties had planned to offer until Governor Abbott's October 1 order.

**17** In short, for those who choose not to put their absentee ballot in the mail, including those voters who receive their ballots too late to assure return delivery via post,

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<sup>5</sup>COVID-19 poses health risks not only for voters waiting to drop off in person their absentee ballots, but also to poll workers. See, "Texas Elections Are Going To Be Hard To Staff, So Voting Groups Plan To Recruit Poll Workers," available at <https://www.keranews.org/post/texas-elections-are-going-be-hard-staff-so-voting-groups-plan-recruit-poll-workers> (last accessed October 4, 2020).

voters in Texas face greater burdens by having only one absentee ballot drop-off location in their county available for them to deliver their ballot in person. These increased costs, however, fall disproportionately on a county's registered voters who in previous elections cast absentee ballots, a county's registered voters who are 65 and older, a county's Hispanic registered voters, and a county's VAP that is disabled, sick, or working outside of the county in which they reside.

**18** My findings clearly indicate that the decision by Governor Abbott to limit to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county will create disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for Texas' registered voters and VAP who choose, in the words of the Texas Supreme Court, to "take into consideration aspects of his health and his health history that are physical conditions in deciding whether, under the [COVID-19] circumstances, to apply to vote by mail because of disability."<sup>6</sup>

## 4 Costs of voting

**19** Governor Abbott's decision to limit to just one drop-off location per county for absentee ballots to be hand-delivered will likely create burdens on several groups of voters. Barriers due to challenges of allowing only a single absentee ballot drop-off location are many. Scholars of voting and elections often refer to these barriers as the "costs of voting" (Rosenstone & Wolfinger 1978; Aldrich 1993; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995; Brady & McNulty 2011; Leighley & Nagler 2013; Tokaji & Colker 2007; Li, Pomante II & Schraufnagel 2018). Texas voters who wish to deliver their absentee ballot in person to a single drop-off

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<sup>6</sup>See Supreme Court of Texas, No. 20-0394, available at <https://www.txcourts.gov/media/1446711/200394.pdf> (last accessed October 4, 2020).

location in a county face at least four costs: *time*, *transportation*, *information*, and *health*.

**20** Voters who have requested and received an absentee ballot in Texas may have good reason to want to return their absentee ballot in person to a county's drop-off location, particularly if they are concerned about the reliability or timeliness of their mail ballot delivery. Some election officials in Texas have warned that USPS mail may take a week to travel from a local election office to the requesting voter (even if that voter resides in the same county); it is reasonable that it may take just as long for that absentee ballot to travel from the voter back to the election office.<sup>7</sup> USPS notes that, "For domestic nonmilitary voters, [we] [recommend] that voters mail their marked return ballots at least 1 week before the due date to account for any unforeseen events or weather issues."<sup>8</sup>

**21** Limiting the number of locations of drop-off sites to just one per county will likely increase both the *time* and *transportation* costs for voters who want to drop off their absentee ballot in person. If voters who choose to return their absentee ballot do not reside in the same zip code as where the county's drop-off site is located, it will likely increase the amount of drive time for the voter. Being forced to travel to another part of one's county to drop off one's absentee ballot can be costly, not only regarding the transportation costs. Additional drive time constitutes a "time tax" (Mukherjee 2009) on these absentee voters.

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<sup>7</sup>For example, the Tom Green County Elections office notes that, "When calling to request an [ballot by mail] application by phone, remember to allow enough time for the application to be mailed to you and returned in order to be in the office by the deadline," *Tom Green County*, available at <http://www.co.tom-green.tx.us/upload/page/0095/docs/2020BallotByMailX.pdf> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

<sup>8</sup>"STATE AND LOCAL ELECTION MAIL—USER'S GUIDE," *United States Postal Service*, January 2020, available at <https://about.usps.com/publications/pub632.pdf> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

**22** Because the number of drop off locations for absentee ballots is limited to just one per county, some voters (particularly those in urban and more populous counties, particularly comprised of racial minorities) will also likely be burdened with longer time waiting in line to physically drop off their absentee ballot. There is ample evidence suggesting that minority voters and those in densely populated urban areas face longer wait times when casting a ballot in person (Kimball & Baybeck 2013; Herron & Smith 2012, 2014; Chen et al. 2019; Stein et al. 2020).

**23** In addition, limiting to just one absentee ballot drop-off location per county can severely impact the wait times for voters who choose to drop off their ballots in person at the county's sole absentee ballot repository. Constraining the number of drop-off locations will likely increase the wait times for voters at the county's single drop-off location, constituting a time tax similar to what has transpired in other states that have reduced the days or hours of early voting locations (Herron & Smith 2014, 2015, 2016; Kaplan & Yuan 2020).

**24** Limiting the number of absentee ballot drop-off locations to one per county also may increase *information* costs for voters who opt to return their absentee ballot in person. Akin to when election officials change or reduce the number of polling locations (Haspel & Knotts 2005; Brady & McNulty 2011; Amos, Smith & Ste. Claire 2017), voters who had planned to drop off their absentee ballot at an alternative location, particularly if it had been previously discussed or announced by local elections officials, will face the additional burden of having to obtain additional information to find out where they may drop off their absentee ballot.

25 In short, permitting counties to provide multiple absentee ballot drop-off locations for ballots will reduce the burdens on voters to deliver their absentee ballot in person. This is particularly true for several groups of registered voters and the VAP more generally in counties across Texas.

## 5 Data

26 The following analysis draws on two statewide Texas voter files, one from February 2020 (that includes all registered (active and inactive) registered voters in the state, and one from June 2020 that includes the vote histories of registered voters who cast ballots in previous elections. In addition, I draw on U.S. Census Bureau (US Census) data from the 2018 American Community Survey (ACS).<sup>9</sup>

27 The official name of the Texas voter file is a "Voter registration list."<sup>10</sup> The February 2020 file lists *all* registered voters (active and inactive) in Texas, regardless of whether they have cast a ballot in a previous election. In contrast, the June 2020 file is limited to registered voters in Texas who have participated in recent statewide elections, and includes history codes for those who voted in the November 8, 2016 General Election, the November 6, 2018 General Election, and the March 3, 2020 Democratic and Republican Primaries.<sup>11</sup> Both files contain voter-level demographics like age and Hispanic surname, as

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<sup>9</sup>See U.S. Census Bureau, 2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year Estimates," available at <https://data.census.gov>, last accessed October 3, 2020.

<sup>10</sup>See "VOTER REGISTRATION PUBLIC INFORMATION REQUEST FORM," Texas Secretary of State, available at <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/forms/pi.pdf> (last accessed October 2, 2020).

<sup>11</sup>Among the reported history codes are "ED," meaning that a voter cast a ballot on Election Day, "EV," meaning that a voter cast an early ballot, and "AB," meaning that a voter cast an absentee ballot. According to the state's official form that one can use to order a copy of the Texas voter file, the voter file identifies those voters whose absentee ballots were rejected by

well as other voter-level features like residential and mailing addresses, including zip code and county. Both files are indexed by ten-digit voter identification numbers, known as VUIDs. The February voter file includes information for 16,227,452 registered voters in Texas. The June voter file contains the recent vote histories for 11,090,147 registered voters (9,761,646 are coded as active, 891,651 are in a suspense category, and 436,807 have been canceled by election officials).<sup>12</sup>

## 6 Limiting to one absentee ballot drop-off location per county will create barriers for Texas voters

28 The following analysis is drawn on data from the two Texas statewide voter files, vote history files, and the US Census' 2018 ACS. In each of the tables and figures, I isolate, by county, registered voters (February 2020 voter file), voters who have cast absentee ballots in previous elections (June 2020 voter file), registered voters who have a Spanish surname (February 2020 voter file), as well as different groups (e.g., disabled, no access to a vehicle, or working outside of their county of residence). After merging the ACS 2018 data by county/zip code with February 2020 voter file) into two groups: 1) those with no drop-off location in the zip code, that is, individuals whose voter registration address lies outside the zip code that the county's absentee ballot drop-off site is located for the November 3, 2020 election, and 2) those with a drop-off location in the zip code, that is, individuals whose

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giving these individuals codes of "AX." Similarly, the code "AV" denotes an accepted absentee ballot, as opposed to simply a received absentee ballot. However, this voter file does not contain any records with "AV" or "AX" codes.

<sup>12</sup>The number of registered voters in the June voter file is greater than the number of registered voters whose statuses are active (official status code of "V"), suspense ("S"), or canceled ("C"), because 49 registered voters in the file appear to have erroneous status codes. In total, the June voter file has 25,940,055 total records. This number is greater than the number of registered voters in the file because voters have multiple lines in the file if they voted in more than one of the elections noted above.

voter registration address lies within a zip code that has an absentee ballot location in the November election.<sup>13</sup> By doing so, I can determine whether certain groups of absentee voters, registered voters, and different VAP groups are more or less likely to reside in the same zip code as where the county's absentee ballot drop-off site is located.

**29** Table 3, available in Appendix A, divides every county's registered voters (based on February 2020 voter file) into the aforementioned two groups: 1) those with no drop-off location in their zip code, and 2) those with a drop-off location in their zip code. The final column provides the percentage of registrants residing in a county who do not have an absentee ballot drop-off located in their zip code. Overall, of the more than 16.2 million registered voters in Texas as of March 2020, over 14.3 million—some 88.1% of all registered voters in Texas—reside in a zip code that does not have an absentee ballot drop-off location.

**30** It is clear from Table 3 (in Appendix A) that counties with larger numbers of voter registrations have a greater percentage of registrants who reside in a zip code that does not have an absentee ballot drop-off site. More than 99% of registered voters in Dallas, Harris, McLennan, Tarrant, and El Paso counties reside in a zip code that does not have a drop-off location for absentee ballots. In 25 counties, at least nine in 10 registered voters do not have access to a drop-off site that is located in their zip code. Most of these counties

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<sup>13</sup>I used the Texas Secretary of State, "Election Duties," available at <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:OSx3HGNGNfsJ:https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/voter/county.shtml+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us> and downloaded the Excel file, election-duties-1.xlsx, to determine the zip code of all election offices, except for Bee, Chambers, Gray, and Harrison, which had either incorrect or PO Box-type zip codes with no registered voters. In these cases, I used the counties' election office websites to obtain the correct zip codes. Because zip codes occasionally overlap county boundaries, to calculate the ACS data by zip code, ZCTA data for county election office zip code were calculated before subtracted them from a county's ZCTA counts. Additionally, for Harris County, I used the zip code for the NRG stadium rather than the clerk's office.

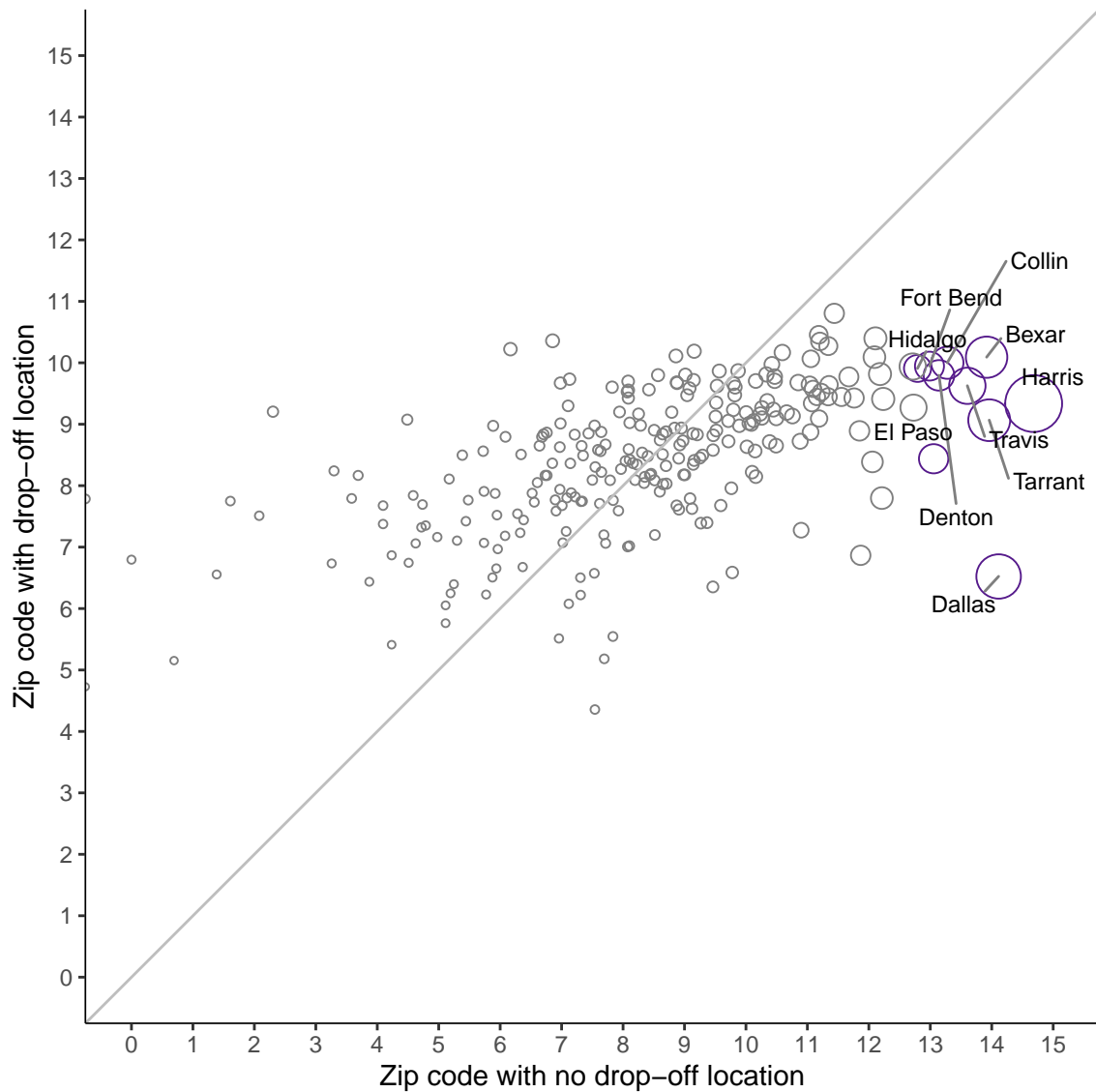


are very populous, but there are some smaller ones, too (e.g., Lipscomb, Knox, and Hartley) where over 90% of voters live in a zip code without a drop-off location.

**31** To more easily visualize the relationship between the number of registered voters in a county and the location in the county of the one permissible drop-off site, Figure 1 displays, using a logarithmic scale for both the horizontal (X-axis) and vertical (Y-axis) dimensions, the number of registered voters (as of February 2020) in each county who live in a zip code with and without a drop-off site. I use a logarithmic scale to visualize the counties, as the number of voters registered in a county is highly skewed, that is, there are a few counties with a very large number of registered voters and a larger number of counties with very few registered voters. The county dots in Figure 1 are scaled to the total number of registered voters in the county, and the counties with the 10 largest numbers of registered voters are labeled.

**32** As Figure 1 reveals, there is considerable heterogeneity across the state's 254 counties—with counties with small populations having a greater share of their registered voters residing in a zip code in which the drop-off site is located, and counties with large populations having much higher rates of registered voters residing in zip codes without an absentee ballot drop-off location. But one fact stands out: registered voters in the state's largest counties are disproportionately less likely to reside in a zip code with an absentee ballot drop-off location.

Figure 1: Number of Registered Voters With and Without an Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Site,  
by County (Logarithmic Scale)



*Note: This figure has 254 points, one per county, and each point is sized based on the total number of registered voters in the county (as of February 2020). Some of the dots are very small or are obscured by other dots. The horizontal location (X-Axis) of a point depicts, on a logarithmic scale, the number of registered voter voters in a county that do not have access to a drop-off location in their zip code. The vertical location (Y-Axis) of a point depicts, on a logarithmic scale, the number of registered voter voters in a county that do have access to a drop-off location in their zip code. The figure has a 45-degree line, and counties very close to this line have approximately equal numbers of registered voters with and without access to an absentee ballot drop-off location in their residential zip code in the 2020 General Election.*

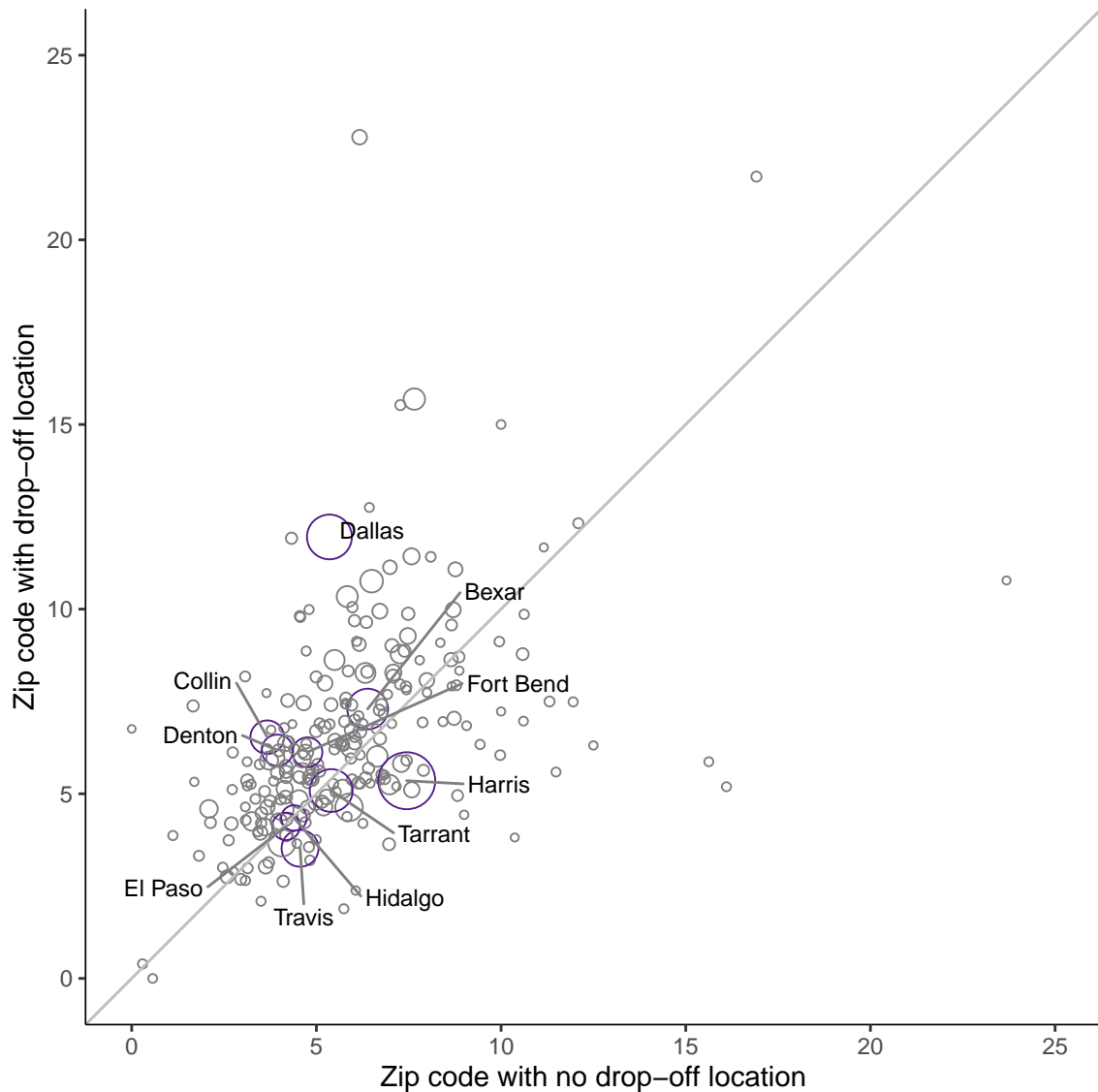
## 6.1 Barriers for voters in a county who cast an absentee ballot in the 2016 General Election

**33** In the November 2016 General Election in Texas, over 520,000 absentee ballots were cast, approximately 5.73 percent of the more than 9.0 million ballots cast in the election.<sup>14</sup> Figure 2 displays the number of absentee ballots cast by voters across the state's counties in the 2016 General Election, broken down by those who reside in a zip code in the county with a drop-off site, and those that do not. The county dots in Figure 2 are scaled to the total number of registered voters in the county, and the counties with the 10 largest numbers of registered voters are labeled. It is clear from Figure 2 that a sizeable percentage of registered voters, in both large and small counties in Texas, who cast absentee ballots in the 2016 General Election, reside a zip code in which the county has not provided a drop-off location for them should the choose to deliver their 2020 General Election absentee ballot in person.

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<sup>14</sup>The total number of ballots cast in the election exceeds the total number of votes cast for the presidential candidates. See Office of the Secretary of State, "Race Summary Report, Unofficial Election Tabulation, 2016 General Election, 11/8/2016," available at [https://elections.sos.state.tx.us/elchist319\\_state.htm](https://elections.sos.state.tx.us/elchist319_state.htm) (last accessed October 3, 2020).

Figure 2: Percent of Registered Voters Who Cast an Absentee Ballot in the 2016 General Election, With and Without an Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Location, by County

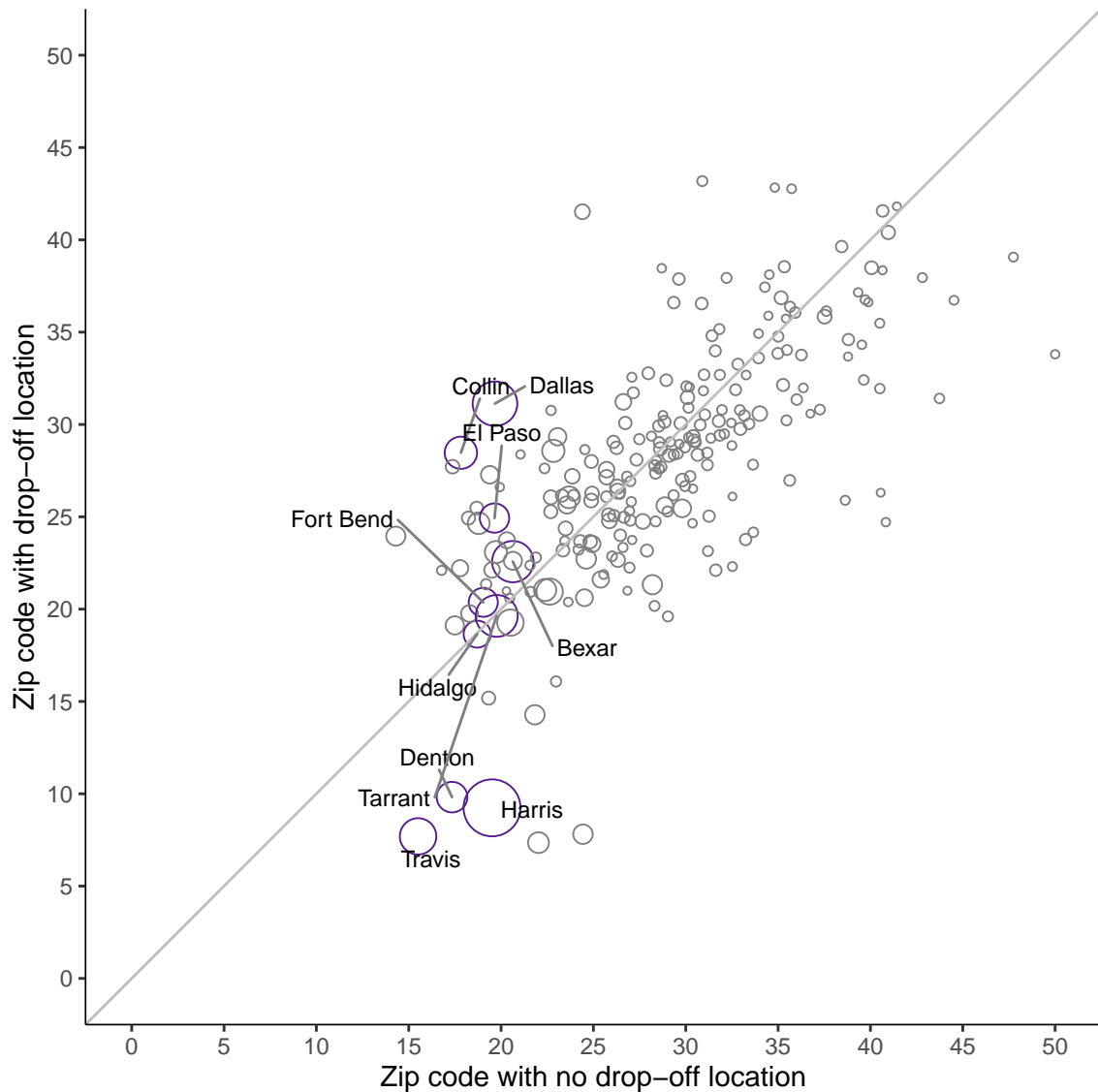


*Note: This figure has 254 points, one per county, and each point is sized based on the total number of registered voters who cast a ballot in the 2016 General Election in the county (as of June 2020). Some of the dots are very small or are obscured by other dots. The horizontal location (X-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of voters who cast an absentee ballot in a county that do not have access to a drop-off site in their zip code. The vertical location (Y-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of voters who cast an absentee ballot in a county that do have access to a drop-off site in their zip code. The figure has a 45-degree line, and counties very close to this line had approximately equal percentages of registered voters with and without access to an absentee ballot drop-off location in their residential zip code in the 2020 General Election.*

## 6.2 Barriers for registered voters in a county 65 and older

**34** In Texas, registered voters 65 years of age and older do not need to provide an excuse to request and cast an absentee ballot. As displayed in Figure 3, the distribution of a drop-off site in a zip code that is more accessible for registered voters 65 and older differs significantly across counties. Among the more populated counties, Dallas, Collin, and El Paso have all located their absentee ballot drop-off site in a zip code that has a greater share of registered voters 65 and older. However, among the counties with the most registered voters, Denton, Harris, and Travis all fall below the 45 degree line in Figure 3, indicating that the drop-off site is not located in zip codes that have a higher percent of older registered voters. For example, in Harris county, voters 65 and older comprise about 20% of all registered voters in the county's zip codes that do not have a drop-off site, whereas in the one zip code in the county in which the drop-off site is located, the elderly comprise roughly 8% of all registered voters. It is clear that in some large counties in Texas, drop-off locations are not readily accessible for voters 65 and older.

Figure 3: Percent of Registered Voters 65 and Older, With and Without an Absentee Ballot Drop-off Location, by County

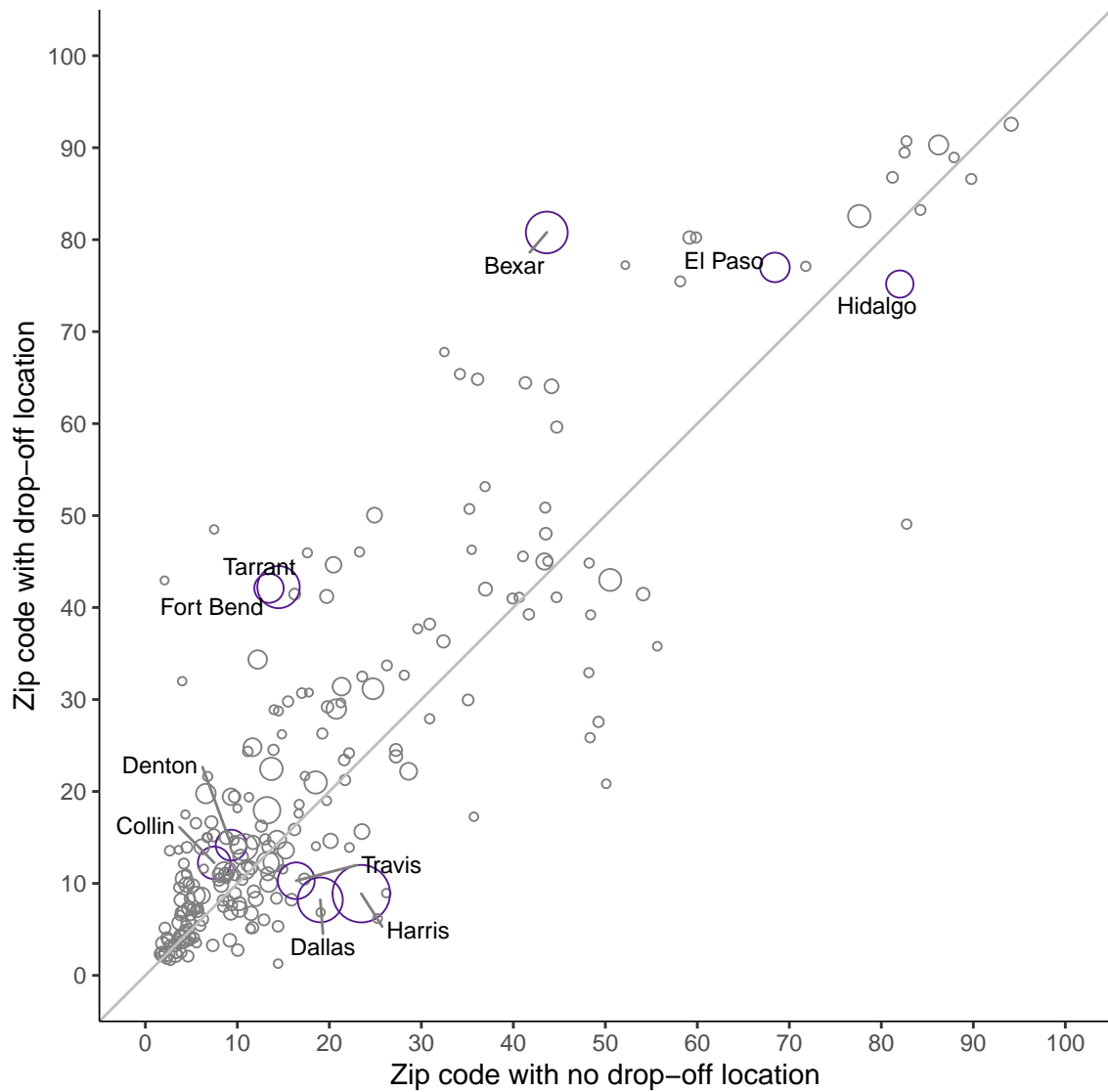


*Note: This figure has 254 points, one per county, and each point is sized based on the total number of registered voters in the county (as of February 2020). Some of the dots are very small or are obscured by other dots. The horizontal location (X-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of registered voters in a county aged 65 and older that do not have access to a drop-off location in their zip code. The vertical location (Y-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of registered voters in a county aged 65 and older that do have access to a drop-off location in their zip code. The figure has a 45-degree line, and counties very close to this line had approximately equal percentages of registered voters in a county aged 65 and older with and without access to an absentee ballot drop-off location in their residential zip code in the 2020 General Election.*

### 6.3 Barriers for registered voters in a county with a Hispanic surname

35 Texas' statewide voter file includes information whether a registered voter has a Spanish surname. Figure 4 displays the distribution of a drop-off location in a zip code that is more accessible to registered voters with a Spanish surname varies significantly across counties. Among the state's more populated counties, Bexar, Fort Bend, and Tarrant have their absentee ballot drop-off site in a zip code with a greater share of registered voters who are likely to be Hispanic. However, two highly populated counties, Dallas and Harris counties, fall below the 45 degree line in Figure 4, indicating that the absentee ballot drop-off location is located in a zip code with a lower share of registered voters who are likely to be Hispanic. For example, in the Harris County zip codes without a drop-off location, roughly one in four registered voters has a Hispanic surname, but fewer than one in 10 registered voters has a Hispanic surname in the county's zip code where its drop-off site is located.

Figure 4: Percent of Registered Voters with a Spanish surname, With and Without an Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Location, by County



*Note: Every point on this figure is a county, and each point is sized based on the total number of registered voters in the county (as of February 2020). Some of the dots are very small or are obscured by other dots. The horizontal location (X-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of registered voters in a county with a Spanish surname that do not have access to a drop-off site in their zip code. The vertical location (Y-Axis) of a point depicts the percentage of registered voters in a county with a Spanish surname that do have access to a drop-off location in their zip code. The figure has a 45-degree line, and counties very close to this line had approximately equal percentages of registered voters with a Spanish surname with and without access to an absentee ballot drop-off location in their residential zip code.*



#### 6.4 Barriers for a county's VAP that is disabled, individuals in households with no vehicle, and individuals who work in another county

**36** Millions of Texans have underlying health conditions that make them highly susceptible to contracting, and becoming seriously ill, from COVID-19. According to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), having a serious heart condition raises the risk that an individual who is infected with COVID-19 develops severe illness. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, in 2018 Texas had the second greatest number of deaths from heart disease among all states.<sup>15</sup> Texas voters with underlying heart conditions who wish to drop off their absentee ballot in person may be subjected to long lines at the sole drop-off location in their county, jeopardizing their health.

**37** The CDC also reports that patients with underlying conditions were 12 times more likely to die from COVID-19, and that the virus has had a disproportionate impact on people with underlying medical conditions and on minority groups.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the CDC reports that, as of 2015, Texas's rate of diabetes per 100,000 adults is 11.2. This rate is greater than the overall United States rate of 9.1 adults per 100,000. Diabetes is a risk factor for COVID-19.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the CDC reports that, as of 2018, 34.8 of Texas residents

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<sup>15</sup>See "Heart Disease Mortality by State," *National Center for Health Statistics*, available at [https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/heart\\_disease\\_mortality/heart\\_disease.htm](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/heart_disease_mortality/heart_disease.htm) (last accessed October 3, 2020).

<sup>16</sup>See "Patients with underlying conditions were 12 times as likely to die of covid-19 as otherwise healthy people, CDC finds," available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/06/15/> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

<sup>17</sup>See "Diabetes Report Card," *Division of Diabetes Translation, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, 2017, available at <https://www.cdc.gov/diabetes/pdfs/library/diabetesreportcard2017-508.pdf> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

are obese,<sup>18</sup> and the CDC warns that obesity is a risk factor for contracting COVID-19.

**38** Figures 5a (Disabled), 5b (No Vehicle in Household), and 5c (Work Outside County of Residence) provide visual evidence of the variance across Texas' counties regarding the percentage of individuals in these three groups who reside in a zip code in which the county has an absentee ballot drop-off site, or does not have access to a drop-off location in their zip code.

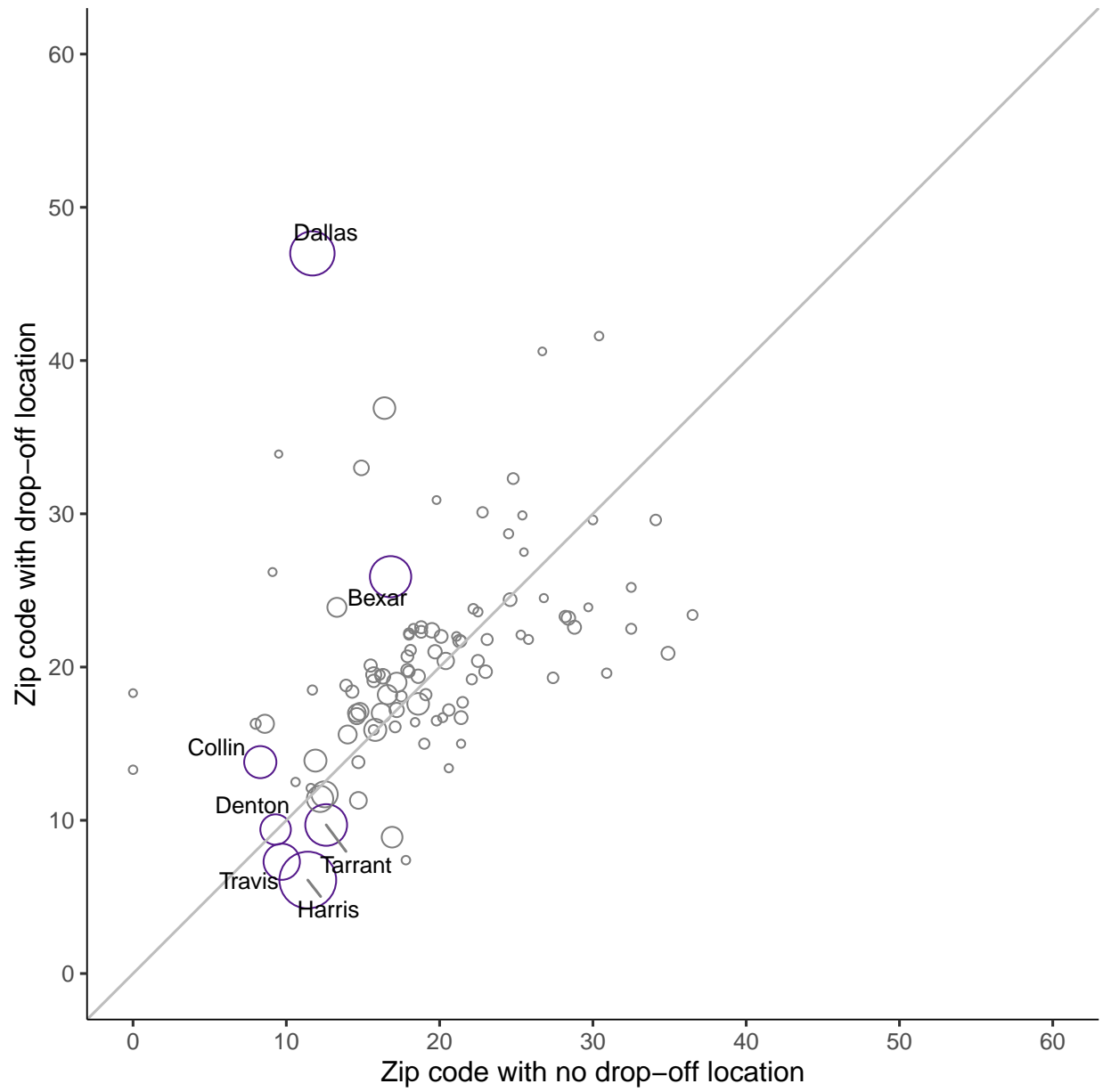
**39** With regard to the percentage of the VAP in a county that the Census identifies as having a disability,<sup>19</sup> Figure 5a shows that a few counties have their drop-off site located in a zip code that has a sizeable 18 year old and older population that is disabled (e.g., Dallas County), while others, most notably Harris, have their absentee ballot drop-off site located in a zip code that has a lower percentage of disabled individuals relative to zip codes without a drop-off location.

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<sup>18</sup>See "Nutrition, Physical Activity, and Obesity: Data, Trends and Maps," *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, available at <https://www.cdc.gov/nccdphp/dnpao/data-trends-maps/index.html> (last accessed October 3, 2020).

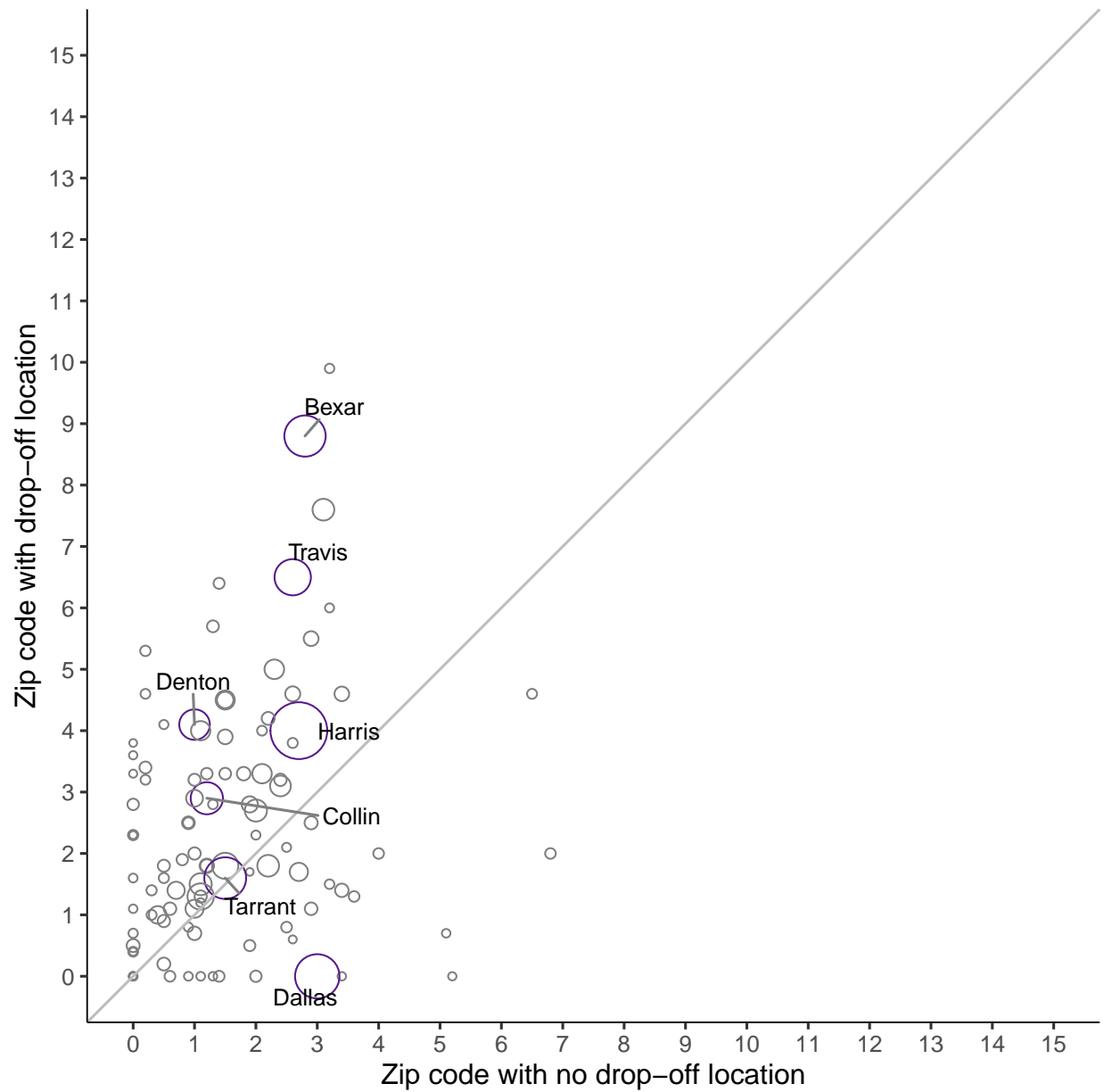
<sup>19</sup>See U.S. Census Bureau, 2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year Estimates, available at <https://data.census.gov>, last accessed October 3, 2020, Table B18101, "SEX BY AGE BY DISABILITY STATUS," Universe: Civilian noninstitutionalized population."

Figure 5: Percent VAP Disabled, by County



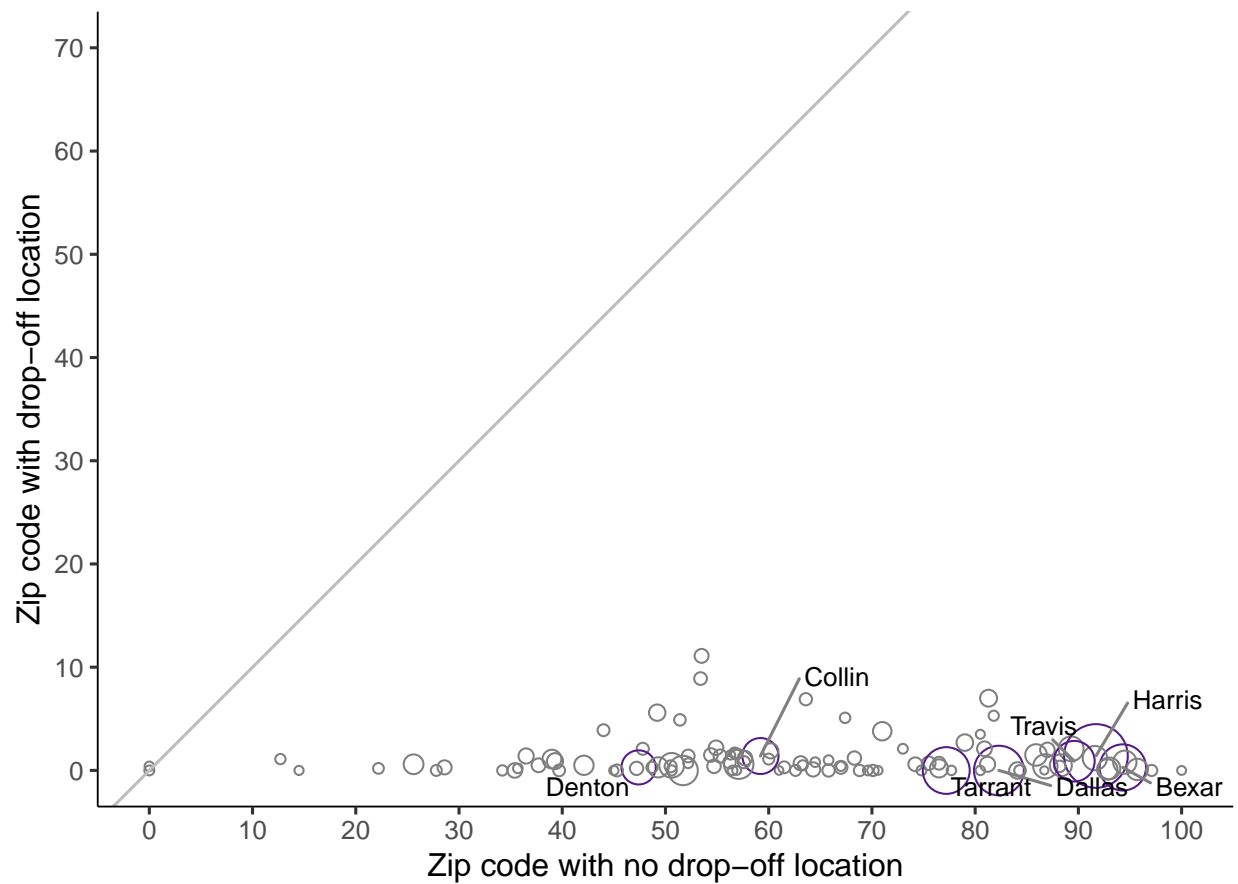
(a) Disabled

Figure 5: Percent Workers 16 Years Old and Over  
in Household with No Vehicle, by County



(b) No Vehicle in Household

Figure 5: Percent Workers 16 Years Old and Over who Work  
in County Outside County of Residence, by County



(c) Work Outside County of Residence

40 With regard to the percentage of households in a county that the Census identifies as not having a vehicle available,<sup>20</sup> Figure 5a shows that most counties have located their drop-off site in a zip code that are more likely to have households with no vehicle compared to zip codes in the county that do not have a drop-off site. The exception among more populous counties is Dallas County: individuals in zip codes without an absentee ballot drop-off site are three times as likely to live in a household without a vehicle than individuals living in a zip code with an absentee ballot drop-off location.

41 Finally, with regard to the percentage of households in a county who have individuals who work in a different county than they reside,<sup>21</sup> Figure 5c shows that nearly all counties have located their drop-off site in a zip code in which residents do not commute to another county for work. In several large counties in which individuals do not have a drop-off location in their zip code, including Tarrant, Dallas, Travis, Harris, and Bexar, well over 50% of workers commute to a different Texas county for their job.

42 In all three cases—individuals with disabilities, individuals in households without a vehicle, and individuals working in another county from where they live—the limitation on the number of absentee ballot drop-off locations in a county will increase the barriers on voters living in zip codes without drop-off sites, should they want to deliver their ballot in person.

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<sup>20</sup>See U.S. Census Bureau, 2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year Estimates, available at <https://data.census.gov>, last accessed October 3, 2020, Table B08141, "MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO WORK BY VEHICLES AVAILABLE," Universe: Workers 16 years and over in households.

<sup>21</sup>See U.S. Census Bureau, 2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year Estimates, available at <https://data.census.gov>, last accessed October 3, 2020, Table B08007, "SEX OF WORKERS BY PLACE OF WORK—STATE AND COUNTY LEVEL," Universe: Workers 16 years and over, Worked in state of residence/Worked outside county of residence."

## 6.5 Reduction in opportunity to drop off absentee ballots for registered voters in Harris and Travis counties

43 Finally, I look at whether the elimination of multiple drop-off locations in Harris and Travis counties due to Governor Abbott's order county creates disparities in equal and safe access to drop-off locations for registered Hispanic voters and registered voters 65 years old and older. Table 1 reports, by zip code for each county, the number of registered voters for the additional zip code the county that had planned to place a drop-off location, as well as the lone remaining drop-off site, which is *highlighted*.

44 With regard to Harris County, Table 1 reveals that in the 10 zip codes in which county elections officials had planned to add a drop-off location, all 10 had greater percentages of Hispanic registered voters than the zip code with the remaining, permissible drop-off location.<sup>22</sup> The same is true regarding the percentage of voters aged 65 and older across the 10 zip codes, compared to the lone zip code with a remaining drop-off location, **77054**. The elimination of the alternative drop-off locations in Harris County severely decreases the opportunities for both Hispanic and 65 and older voters to safely and conveniently cast their absentee ballot in person.

45 With regard to Travis County, Table 1 reveals that in the one zip code in which county elections officials had planned to add three drop-off locations, zip code 78701 had a slightly lower percentage of Hispanic registered voters than zip code **78751**, the one

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<sup>22</sup>Harris County's election office is located at 1001 Preston, Houston, TX, 77002. However, the drop-off location for absentee ballot returned in person is the NRG Arena, NRG Parkwy, Houston, TX, 77054, and I use this zip code, 77054, for comparison purposes. See "Voting by Mail," available at url://www.harrisvotes.com/VotingInfo?lang=en-USVoteByMail (last accessed October 4, 2020).

remaining zip code with a permissible drop-off site. However, the zip code that had the three eliminated drop-off sites had a higher percentage of voters aged 65 than the remaining zip code location with a drop-off site. The elimination of the three alternative drop-off locations in Travis County severely decreases the opportunities for 65 and older voters to safely and conveniently cast their absentee ballot in person.

Table 1: Current and Eliminated Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Sites, by Zip Code, Harris and Travis Counties

| County/ Zip Code     | Registered Voters | Percent<br>Hispanic | Percent<br>65+ |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <b>Harris County</b> |                   |                     |                |
| 77506                | 11454             | 71.1                | 16.7           |
| 77049                | 15886             | 43.3                | 13.5           |
| 77089                | 30114             | 34.6                | 19.5           |
| 77081                | 10910             | 30.4                | 13.3           |
| 77084                | 52836             | 27.2                | 16.3           |
| 77521                | 27381             | 26.6                | 18.8           |
| 77338                | 21026             | 23.7                | 16.6           |
| 77091                | 14286             | 16.5                | 21.8           |
| 77379                | 54772             | 11.7                | 21.2           |
| 77062                | 17380             | 11.6                | 26.1           |
| <b>77054</b>         | 11344             | 8.9                 | 9.2            |
| <b>Travis County</b> |                   |                     |                |
| <b>78751</b>         | 15162             | 10.3                | 7.7            |
| 78701                | 9780              | 8.6                 | 12.3           |

*Note: The zip code in **bold and italics** has the county's remaining (and current) drop-off location.*

**46** Table 2 provides the same analysis, but it conditions on whether a registered voter (as of June 2020) cast a ballot (of any kind) in the 2016 General Election. It reports, by zip code for each county, the number of registered voters who cast a ballot in the November 2016 election in each zip code in the county that had a planned drop-off location, as well as the lone remaining drop-off location, which is *highlighted*.



47 With regard to Harris County, Table 2 reveals that in the 10 zip codes in which county elections officials had planned to add a drop-off location, all 10 had a greater share of turnout by Hispanic voters in the 2016 General Election than in the zip code, **77054**, that has a permissible drop-off location in the 2020 General Election. The same is true regarding voters aged 65 and older: older registered voters comprised a greater share of turnout in the 2016 election across all 10 zip codes than in the lone zip code with a remaining drop-off site, **77054**. More importantly, only 5.5% of all votes cast in the 2016 election in **77054** were absentee ballots, nearly the lowest percentage of all 11 zip codes in Harris County. This means that voters who voted absentee ballots at higher rates in other zip codes, should they choose to drop off their absentee ballot in person, will have to travel to a different part of Houston to do so, rather than being able to do so at a location within their own zip code.

48 With regard to Travis County, Table 1 reveals that the one zip code in which county elections officials had planned to add three drop-off locations, 78701, Hispanic voters comprised a slightly lower percentage of those who turned out in the 2016 General Election when compared to the zip code, **78751**, where voters will have to travel to drop off in person their absentee ballot, but older voters comprised a greater percent of overall voters in 2016 in the zip codes losing the drop-off locations compared with the zip code retaining its drop-off site. In addition, the share of absentee ballots (out of all ballots cast) in the 2016 General Election was lower in **78751** than the share of absentee ballots cast in the zip code where Travis County election officials were forced to shutter the three additional drop-off locations.

Table 2: Current and Eliminated Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Sites, by Zip Code, Voters in the 2016 General Election,  
Harris and Travis Counties

| County/Zip           | Count | Percent<br>Hispanic | Percent<br>65 Year Old | Percent<br>Absentee | Percent<br>Early<br>Voting | Percent<br>Election<br>Day | Percent<br>in-Person |
|----------------------|-------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>Harris County</b> |       |                     |                        |                     |                            |                            |                      |
| 77506                | 4381  | 68.8                | 19.7                   | 6.7                 | 58.5                       | 34.8                       | 93.2                 |
| 77049                | 7751  | 38.0                | 13.4                   | 4.8                 | 67.6                       | 27.6                       | 95.2                 |
| 77089                | 15633 | 32.3                | 21.6                   | 6.5                 | 68.2                       | 25.3                       | 93.5                 |
| 77081                | 4450  | 26.7                | 14.7                   | 5.2                 | 61.9                       | 32.9                       | 94.8                 |
| 77084                | 26784 | 23.6                | 15.6                   | 4.8                 | 69.6                       | 25.6                       | 95.2                 |
| 77521                | 13398 | 20.7                | 21.9                   | 6.4                 | 65.7                       | 27.9                       | 93.6                 |
| 77338                | 10293 | 20.0                | 17.9                   | 6.0                 | 67.3                       | 26.7                       | 94.0                 |
| 77091                | 7191  | 13.8                | 25.1                   | 10.7                | 65.7                       | 23.6                       | 89.3                 |
| 77062                | 11424 | 9.9                 | 26.0                   | 9.3                 | 63.0                       | 27.7                       | 90.7                 |
| 77379                | 34784 | 9.9                 | 21.3                   | 7.8                 | 68.9                       | 23.3                       | 92.2                 |
| <b>77054</b>         | 5567  | 8.8                 | 9.8                    | 5.5                 | 70.2                       | 24.4                       | 94.6                 |
| <b>Travis County</b> |       |                     |                        |                     |                            |                            |                      |
| <b>78751</b>         | 8740  | 9.8                 | 7.9                    | 3.5                 | 77.2                       | 19.2                       | 96.5                 |
| 78701                | 4535  | 7.6                 | 13.1                   | 5.7                 | 75.3                       | 19                         | 94.3                 |

## 7 Conclusion

**49** Registered voters in Texas do not control how quickly their local election officials respond to absentee ballot requests. Registered voters in Texas do not control how long it takes USPS to deliver them their absentee ballot, nor how long it takes USPS to return their completed ballot to their county election officials. Registered voters in Texas do not control the spread of COVID-19 in their county. And now, should they want to alleviate any costs born by voters wishing to be able to deliver their absentee ballot in person at a secure drop-off site, local election officials, due to Governor Abbott's order, do not control how many drop-off sites they may locate around their county.

**50** If, as it is expected, that the demand by voters to vote an absentee ballot continues to rise in the weeks leading up to the November 3, 2020 General Election, potentially millions of eligible registered voters in Texas will be hindered from dropping off their absentee ballot off at a drop-off site in their own zip code.

**51** If the COVID-19 pandemic continues unabated in Texas during the next month, if postal delays with USPS in Texas continue, and if Texas experiences the expected surge in the demand by voters for absentee ballots, Governor Abbott's order to limit counties to a single drop-off location has the potential of disenfranchising millions of eligible registered voters in Texas who will choose to stay home rather than risk their health by waiting in inevitably long lines at the sole absentee ballot drop-off location in a county. Furthermore, particularly in populous counties, there will be tremendous administrative stress placed on election officials to keep voters who opt to drop off in person their absentee ballot, as well as their staff, safe.

**52** In sum, voters in Texas should not have to choose between exercising their franchise and casting an absentee ballot in the most safe and secure manner—in person at a nearby local drop-off location.

**53** I ask to reserve the right to continue to supplement my declaration in light of additional facts, data, and testimony.

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## A Appendix

Table 3: Registered Voters with With and Without an Absentee Ballot Drop-Off Location in the Zip Code in which they are Registered, by County

| County Name | Out of Office<br>Zip Code | In Office<br>Zip Code | Percent Out of<br>Office Zip Code |
|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Dallas      | 1345000                   | 681                   | 99.9                              |
| Harris      | 2379025                   | 11344                 | 99.5                              |
| McLennan    | 142529                    | 960                   | 99.3                              |
| Tarrant     | 1154405                   | 8662                  | 99.3                              |
| El Paso     | 467122                    | 4624                  | 99.0                              |
| Nueces      | 201138                    | 2437                  | 98.8                              |
| Travis      | 808485                    | 15162                 | 98.2                              |
| Bexar       | 1106322                   | 24149                 | 97.9                              |
| Lubbock     | 172435                    | 4392                  | 97.5                              |
| Potter      | 54090                     | 1445                  | 97.4                              |
| Montgomery  | 336807                    | 10625                 | 96.9                              |
| Denton      | 509524                    | 17972                 | 96.6                              |
| Collin      | 583688                    | 22068                 | 96.4                              |
| Lipscomb    | 1885                      | 78                    | 96.0                              |
| Palo Pinto  | 17622                     | 726                   | 96.0                              |
| Montague    | 12862                     | 574                   | 95.7                              |
| Fort Bend   | 436603                    | 20888                 | 95.4                              |
| Jefferson   | 139853                    | 7279                  | 95.1                              |
| Hidalgo     | 359423                    | 20114                 | 94.7                              |
| Galveston   | 205607                    | 12235                 | 94.4                              |
| Williamson  | 332403                    | 20750                 | 94.1                              |
| Knox        | 2195                      | 178                   | 92.5                              |
| Brazoria    | 195155                    | 18348                 | 91.4                              |
| Smith       | 128055                    | 12426                 | 91.2                              |
| Hartley     | 2528                      | 256                   | 90.8                              |
| Gregg       | 63054                     | 7135                  | 89.8                              |
| Bowie       | 53221                     | 6143                  | 89.7                              |
| Brazos      | 104215                    | 12641                 | 89.2                              |
| Wichita     | 72444                     | 8894                  | 89.1                              |
| Chambers    | 25863                     | 3454                  | 88.2                              |

|              |        |       |      |
|--------------|--------|-------|------|
| Bell         | 178194 | 24161 | 88.1 |
| Hutchinson   | 11688  | 1633  | 87.7 |
| Grimes       | 14622  | 2159  | 87.1 |
| Webb         | 117566 | 17524 | 87.0 |
| Parker       | 84006  | 12678 | 86.9 |
| Atascosa     | 24363  | 3717  | 86.8 |
| Bosque       | 10567  | 1620  | 86.7 |
| San Patricio | 35957  | 5718  | 86.3 |
| Cass         | 17370  | 2859  | 85.9 |
| Kaufman      | 64393  | 11390 | 85.0 |
| Cameron      | 181141 | 32801 | 84.7 |
| Grayson      | 69839  | 12640 | 84.7 |
| Johnson      | 85118  | 15428 | 84.7 |
| Randall      | 74964  | 13671 | 84.6 |
| Hardin       | 32391  | 6079  | 84.2 |
| Hunt         | 46933  | 9267  | 83.5 |
| Wood         | 25559  | 5243  | 83.0 |
| Taylor       | 65595  | 14417 | 82.0 |
| Trinity      | 9150   | 2051  | 81.7 |
| Henderson    | 42721  | 9804  | 81.3 |
| Dickens      | 1050   | 248   | 80.9 |
| Ector        | 62158  | 15460 | 80.1 |
| Liberty      | 36053  | 8939  | 80.1 |
| Cherokee     | 22354  | 5615  | 79.9 |
| Archer       | 5003   | 1337  | 78.9 |
| Leon         | 8873   | 2418  | 78.6 |
| Callahan     | 7400   | 2024  | 78.5 |
| Harrison     | 34366  | 10290 | 77.0 |
| Jones        | 7131   | 2157  | 76.8 |
| Tom Green    | 51562  | 15975 | 76.3 |
| Nacogdoches  | 28568  | 8966  | 76.1 |
| Medina       | 24078  | 8090  | 74.9 |
| Hudspeth     | 1495   | 503   | 74.8 |
| Parmer       | 3306   | 1118  | 74.7 |
| Ellis        | 84175  | 28935 | 74.4 |
| Van Zandt    | 27807  | 9573  | 74.4 |
| Waller       | 24945  | 8603  | 74.4 |



|             |       |       |      |
|-------------|-------|-------|------|
| Yoakum      | 3213  | 1104  | 74.4 |
| Concho      | 1233  | 436   | 73.9 |
| Rusk        | 23130 | 8219  | 73.8 |
| Coryell     | 28584 | 10583 | 73.0 |
| Hill        | 16569 | 6135  | 73.0 |
| Midland     | 63356 | 23516 | 72.9 |
| Wise        | 31125 | 11837 | 72.4 |
| Fisher      | 1867  | 716   | 72.3 |
| Upshur      | 19778 | 7906  | 71.4 |
| San Jacinto | 12884 | 5322  | 70.8 |
| Guadalupe   | 73412 | 31204 | 70.2 |
| Eastland    | 8148  | 3554  | 69.6 |
| Burnet      | 22121 | 9793  | 69.3 |
| Robertson   | 7987  | 3558  | 69.2 |
| Upton       | 1489  | 667   | 69.1 |
| Milam       | 10418 | 4681  | 69.0 |
| Limestone   | 9343  | 4220  | 68.9 |
| Llano       | 10865 | 4896  | 68.9 |
| Angelina    | 35151 | 16431 | 68.1 |
| Colorado    | 9483  | 4494  | 67.8 |
| Comal       | 71974 | 34763 | 67.4 |
| Karnes      | 5418  | 2707  | 66.7 |
| Orange      | 35183 | 17594 | 66.7 |
| Newton      | 6042  | 3080  | 66.2 |
| Wharton     | 16545 | 8558  | 65.9 |
| Wheeler     | 2245  | 1167  | 65.8 |
| Austin      | 12945 | 6769  | 65.7 |
| Hays        | 92757 | 49270 | 65.3 |
| Blanco      | 5717  | 3057  | 65.2 |
| Fannin      | 13595 | 7317  | 65.0 |
| Anderson    | 17917 | 10245 | 63.6 |
| Bastrop     | 30713 | 18231 | 62.8 |
| Crosby      | 2182  | 1339  | 62.0 |
| Freestone   | 7374  | 4655  | 61.3 |
| Hood        | 25836 | 16386 | 61.2 |
| Victoria    | 33595 | 21494 | 61.0 |
| Red River   | 4981  | 3256  | 60.5 |

|          |       |       |      |
|----------|-------|-------|------|
| Rockwall | 39819 | 26052 | 60.4 |
| Jasper   | 13435 | 9170  | 59.4 |
| Falls    | 5997  | 4114  | 59.3 |
| Fayette  | 9957  | 6844  | 59.3 |
| Lamar    | 18348 | 13051 | 58.4 |
| Presidio | 2766  | 1983  | 58.2 |
| Live Oak | 4197  | 3112  | 57.4 |
| Bandera  | 9310  | 6953  | 57.2 |
| Morris   | 4704  | 3610  | 56.6 |
| Duval    | 4619  | 3551  | 56.5 |
| Lavaca   | 7507  | 5791  | 56.5 |
| Tyler    | 7896  | 6174  | 56.1 |
| Wilson   | 18469 | 14839 | 55.4 |
| Clay     | 4249  | 3443  | 55.2 |
| Caldwell | 13565 | 11511 | 54.1 |
| Walker   | 17985 | 15725 | 53.4 |
| Lee      | 5675  | 4968  | 53.3 |
| Runnels  | 3626  | 3265  | 52.6 |
| Refugio  | 2534  | 2350  | 51.9 |
| Shelby   | 7688  | 7615  | 50.2 |
| Polk     | 19388 | 19306 | 50.1 |
| Coke     | 1118  | 1178  | 48.7 |
| Comanche | 4459  | 4818  | 48.1 |
| Carson   | 2037  | 2227  | 47.8 |
| Navarro  | 13761 | 15111 | 47.7 |
| Lampasas | 6903  | 7605  | 47.6 |
| Lamb     | 3736  | 4207  | 47.0 |
| De Witt  | 5445  | 6263  | 46.5 |
| Houston  | 6002  | 7173  | 45.6 |
| Real     | 1181  | 1417  | 45.5 |
| Willacy  | 5674  | 6913  | 45.1 |
| Rains    | 3499  | 4307  | 44.8 |
| Jackson  | 4068  | 5102  | 44.4 |
| Hamilton | 2415  | 3256  | 42.6 |
| Starr    | 14265 | 19268 | 42.5 |
| Franklin | 2882  | 3908  | 42.4 |
| Oldham   | 582   | 793   | 42.3 |

|               |      |       |      |
|---------------|------|-------|------|
| Sabine        | 3324 | 4541  | 42.3 |
| Madison       | 3107 | 4448  | 41.1 |
| Gonzales      | 4948 | 7355  | 40.2 |
| Panola        | 6580 | 9857  | 40.0 |
| Floyd         | 1536 | 2316  | 39.9 |
| Castro        | 1503 | 2305  | 39.5 |
| Matagorda     | 8462 | 13003 | 39.4 |
| Motley        | 321  | 507   | 38.8 |
| Brown         | 8787 | 14545 | 37.7 |
| Frio          | 3269 | 5395  | 37.7 |
| Cooke         | 9399 | 16608 | 36.1 |
| Coleman       | 2095 | 3719  | 36.0 |
| Jack          | 1809 | 3267  | 35.6 |
| Delta         | 1368 | 2485  | 35.5 |
| Briscoe       | 356  | 669   | 34.7 |
| Borden        | 166  | 318   | 34.3 |
| Haskell       | 1106 | 2156  | 33.9 |
| Hansford      | 1002 | 1972  | 33.7 |
| Burleson      | 3967 | 7952  | 33.3 |
| San Saba      | 1196 | 2446  | 32.8 |
| Throckmorton  | 379  | 775   | 32.8 |
| Lynn          | 1282 | 2652  | 32.6 |
| San Augustine | 1897 | 4042  | 31.9 |
| Erath         | 7173 | 15844 | 31.2 |
| Jim Wells     | 8216 | 18142 | 31.2 |
| Hopkins       | 7141 | 16022 | 30.8 |
| Mills         | 988  | 2366  | 29.5 |
| Hall          | 559  | 1384  | 28.8 |
| Hockley       | 3838 | 9586  | 28.6 |
| Young         | 3322 | 8293  | 28.6 |
| Dimmitt       | 2070 | 5230  | 28.4 |
| Kent          | 166  | 425   | 28.1 |
| Zavala        | 2241 | 5827  | 27.8 |
| Swisher       | 1066 | 2806  | 27.5 |
| Marion        | 1984 | 5339  | 27.1 |
| Edwards       | 388  | 1062  | 26.8 |
| Kerr          | 9483 | 26599 | 26.3 |

|               |      |       |      |
|---------------|------|-------|------|
| Mcmullen      | 180  | 517   | 25.8 |
| Shackelford   | 591  | 1705  | 25.7 |
| Cochran       | 437  | 1318  | 24.9 |
| Hale          | 4540 | 14228 | 24.2 |
| Somervell     | 1555 | 4869  | 24.2 |
| Glasscock     | 190  | 600   | 24.1 |
| Kimble        | 703  | 2279  | 23.6 |
| Kenedy        | 69   | 224   | 23.5 |
| Goliad        | 1264 | 4287  | 22.8 |
| Gaines        | 2089 | 7150  | 22.6 |
| Washington    | 5268 | 18017 | 22.6 |
| Kendall       | 7048 | 24630 | 22.2 |
| Calhoun       | 2815 | 9895  | 22.1 |
| Hardeman      | 535  | 1888  | 22.1 |
| Brewster      | 1519 | 5693  | 21.1 |
| Sherman       | 310  | 1175  | 20.9 |
| Bee           | 3249 | 12408 | 20.8 |
| Martin        | 679  | 2637  | 20.5 |
| Mitchell      | 864  | 3523  | 19.7 |
| Nolan         | 1700 | 6981  | 19.6 |
| La Salle      | 840  | 3525  | 19.2 |
| Moore         | 1876 | 7916  | 19.2 |
| Winkler       | 739  | 3136  | 19.1 |
| Uvalde        | 3198 | 13744 | 18.9 |
| Aransas       | 3249 | 14103 | 18.7 |
| Mcculloch     | 943  | 4295  | 18.0 |
| Donley        | 383  | 1847  | 17.2 |
| Gillespie     | 3239 | 16281 | 16.6 |
| Pecos         | 1357 | 6844  | 16.5 |
| Ward          | 1065 | 5586  | 16.0 |
| Titus         | 2495 | 14814 | 14.4 |
| Menard        | 200  | 1219  | 14.1 |
| Dallam        | 372  | 2627  | 12.4 |
| Collingsworth | 231  | 1672  | 12.1 |
| Terry         | 765  | 5709  | 11.8 |
| Scurry        | 1077 | 8205  | 11.6 |
| Zapata        | 861  | 7070  | 10.9 |

|            |      |       |      |
|------------|------|-------|------|
| Reeves     | 798  | 6602  | 10.8 |
| Camp       | 818  | 6882  | 10.6 |
| Stephens   | 567  | 4957  | 10.3 |
| Mason      | 310  | 2716  | 10.2 |
| Armstrong  | 145  | 1292  | 10.1 |
| Gray       | 1219 | 10934 | 10.0 |
| Stonewall  | 91   | 850   | 9.7  |
| Garza      | 240  | 2356  | 9.2  |
| Irion      | 102  | 1165  | 8.1  |
| Culberson  | 120  | 1558  | 7.2  |
| Terrell    | 48   | 624   | 7.1  |
| Jeff Davis | 112  | 1513  | 6.9  |
| Kleberg    | 1249 | 16872 | 6.9  |
| Cottle     | 69   | 960   | 6.7  |
| Howard     | 1076 | 15844 | 6.4  |
| Dawson     | 440  | 6603  | 6.2  |
| Brooks     | 306  | 5227  | 5.5  |
| Bailey     | 176  | 3321  | 5.0  |
| Hemphill   | 114  | 2194  | 4.9  |
| Wilbarger  | 360  | 7896  | 4.4  |
| Ochiltree  | 218  | 4901  | 4.3  |
| Crane      | 98   | 2544  | 3.7  |
| Schleicher | 60   | 1597  | 3.6  |
| Foard      | 26   | 841   | 3.0  |
| Maverick   | 947  | 31514 | 2.9  |
| Kinney     | 60   | 2156  | 2.7  |
| Val Verde  | 477  | 27512 | 1.7  |
| Crockett   | 36   | 2423  | 1.5  |
| Childress  | 40   | 3523  | 1.1  |
| King       | 2    | 173   | 1.1  |
| Deaf Smith | 89   | 8735  | 1.0  |
| Jim Hogg   | 27   | 3793  | 0.7  |
| Roberts    | 4    | 703   | 0.6  |
| Reagan     | 8    | 1828  | 0.4  |
| Baylor     | 5    | 2320  | 0.2  |
| Andrews    | 10   | 9941  | 0.1  |
| Sterling   | 1    | 894   | 0.1  |

|        |   |      |     |
|--------|---|------|-----|
| Loving | 0 | 113  | 0.0 |
| Sutton | 0 | 2404 | 0.0 |

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## B *Curriculum vitae* of Daniel A. Smith

5 October 2020

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#### ***EDUCATION***

##### *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Ph.D., Political Science, 1994  
M.A., Political Science, 1989

##### *The Pennsylvania State University*

B.A., Political Science (Foreign Affairs) & B.A., History (*cum laude*), 1988  
University Scholars Program (University Honors)  
*Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Alpha Theta*  
Macro Economics Program, *Westminster College, Oxford University*, Summer, 1987

#### ***ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT***

##### *University of Florida, Gainesville*

Professor, Department of Political Science, 2010-  
Chair, 2017-  
Graduate Coordinator, 2014-2016  
Associate Chair, 2013-2014  
Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-2011  
Affiliate Professor, Center for African Studies, 2010-  
Affiliate Professor, The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, 2013-  
Internship Coordinator, Department of Political Science, 2005-  
Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, 2003-2009

##### *University of Denver*

Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, 2000-2003  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1994-2000  
Director, *University of Denver/University of Ghana* Study Abroad Program, 1995-2002

##### *University of Ghana*

Senior Fulbright Scholar, Department of Political Science, 2000-01

##### *West Virginia University*

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1993-1994

##### *Beloit College*

Visiting Lecturer, *Warner Mills Teaching Fellow*, Department of Government, 1992-1993

##### *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, 1988; 1990-1991  
Research Assistant, Center on Wisconsin Strategy, 1989-1991  
Project Assistant, Department of Political Science, 1989-1990

#### ***RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS***

University of Florida Term Professor, 2016-2018  
Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, Fall 2011  
University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012  
Visiting Scholar, Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West, Stanford University, Spring 2007  
Senior Research Scholar, Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Washington, D.C., Spring 2006  
Senior Fulbright Scholar (Ghana), United States Department of State, 2000-01  
Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01

#### ***AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION***

##### American State Politics

Voting and Elections (Political Campaigns, Campaign Finance, Voting Rights, Redistricting)  
Direct Democracy (Ballot Initiatives and Referendums)

##### American Institutions (Political Parties and Interest Groups)

##### Politics of Ghana (Voting and Elections)

**COURSES TAUGHT**

Intro to American Politics (Undergrad)  
 Interest Group Politics (Undergrad)  
 Direct Democracy (Grad & Undergrad)  
 Politics of Reform (Grad)

State and Local Government (Grad & Undergrad)  
 Political Parties (Grad & Undergrad)  
 Politics of Campaign Finance (Grad & Undergrad)  
 Problems of Markets and Governments (Undergrad)

**SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS****BOOKS**

- 3) Todd Donovan, Daniel A. Smith, Tracy Osborne, and Christopher Z. Mooney. 2015. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 4th edition. Boston (MA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. *Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy*. NY: Routledge.

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- 63) *William D. Hicks*, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Contemporary Views of Liberal Democracy and the 2016 Presidential Election." *PS: Political Science* (May). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096520000918>
- 62) *Enrijeta Shino*, Michael Martinez, Michael P. McDonald, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Verifying Voter Registration Records." Forthcoming. *American Politics Review* (May) <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X20920261>.
- 61) *Enrijeta Shino* and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses." *Election Law Journal* (June) <https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2019.0596>
- 60) David Cottrell, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. "Voting Lines, Equal Treatment, and Early Voting Check-in Times in Florida," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* (August) <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1532440020943884>
- 59) Charles Bullock, *William D. Hicks*, M.V. Hood, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "The Election of African American State Legislators in the Modern South." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (April). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/lsq.12280>.
- 58) *Thessalia Merivaki* and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "A Failsafe for Voters? Cast and Rejected Provisional Ballots in North Carolina," *Political Research Quarterly* 73(1): 65-78.
- 57) Seth C. McKee, Daniel A. Smith, and M.V. (Trey) Hood. 2018. "The Comeback Kid: Donald Trump on Election Day in 2016." *PS: Political Science* 52 (2): 239-242.
- 56) Hannah L. Walker, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "North Carolina voter turnout and early voting hours in the 2016 General Election." *Political Behavior* 41: 841-69.
- 55) Daniel Biggers and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Does Threatening their Franchise Make Registered Voters More Likely to Participate? Evidence from an Aborted Voter Purge." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 933-954.
- 54) **Brian Amos**, *Diana Forster*, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Who Signs? Ballot Petition Signatures as Political Participation," *American Review of Politics* 36(2): 19-37.
- 53) David Cottrell, Michael C. Herron, Javier M. Rodriguez, and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Mortality, Incarceration, and African-American Disenfranchisement in the Contemporary United States," *American Politics Research* 47(2) 195-237.
- 52) Daniel A. Smith, Seth C. McKee, and M.V. (Trey) Hood, III. 2018. "Election Daze: Voting Modes and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election," *Florida Political Chronicle* 25(2): 123-141.
- 51) **Enrijeta Shino** and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States." *Electoral Studies* 51: 72-82.
- 50) William D. Hicks, Carl E. Klarner, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation," *Political Research Quarterly* 71(2): 408-23.
- 49) **Brian Amos**, Daniel A. Smith, and **Casey Ste. Claire**. 2017. "Reprecincting and Voting Behavior," *Political Behavior* 39(1): 133-156.
- 48) *William D. Hicks*, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "A Bipartisan Election Reform? Explaining Support for Online Voter Registration in the American States," *American Politics Research* 44(6): 1008-1036.
- 47) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina," *Florida State University Law Review* 43: 465-506.
- 46) *William D. Hicks*, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "The Determinants of State Legislator Support for Restrictive Voter ID Laws," *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16(4): 411-431.
- 45) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Precinct Resources and Voter Wait Times," *Electoral Studies* 42: 249-63.
- 44) *Thessalia Merivaki* and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Casting and Verifying Provisional Ballots in Florida," *Social Science Quarterly* 97(3): 729-47.



- 43) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "Precinct Closing Times in Florida during the 2012 General Election," *Election Law Journal* 14: 220-38.
- 42) William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, **Mitchell Sellers**, and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "A Principle or a Strategy? Voter Identification Laws and Partisan Competition in the American States," *Political Research Quarterly* 68: 18-33.
- 41) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Race, Party, and the Consequences of Restricting Early Voting in Florida in the 2012 General Election," *Political Research Quarterly* 67: 646-65.
- 40) Josh Brodbeck, **Matthew T. Harrigan**, and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "Citizen and lobbyist access to Members of Congress: Who gets and who gives?" *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 2: 323-42.
- 39) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "House Bill 1355 and Voter Registration in Florida," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 13: 279-305.
- 38) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Souls to the Polls: Early Voting in Florida in the Shadow of House Bill 1355," *Election Law Journal* 11: 331-47.  
[Winner of the 2013 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's *Best Paper Award*]
- 37) Janine Parry, Daniel A. Smith, and Shayne Henry. 2011. "The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout," *Political Behavior* 34: 117-36.
- 36) **Stephanie Slade** and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Obama to Blame? African American Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida," *The Forum* 9(2), Article 6: <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol9/iss2/art6>.
- 35) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Outreach, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44: 255-9.
- 34) **Josh Huder**, **Jordan Ragusa**, and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "The Initiative to Shirk? The Effects of Ballot Measures on Congressional Voting Behavior," *American Politics Research* 39 (3): 582-610.
- 33) Daniel A. Smith, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Amanda Keller. 2010. "Electoral and Structural Losers and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S." *Electoral Studies* 29: 509-520.
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- 31) Caroline Tolbert, Daniel A. Smith, and John Green. 2009. "Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 92-109.
- 30) Todd Donovan, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "Political Engagement, Mobilization, and Direct Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73: 98-118.
- 29) Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "An Americanist in Africa," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (4): 827-33.
- 28) Beatrix Allah-Mensa, *Kevin S. Fridy*, Daniel A. Smith, and Ukoha Ukiwo. "2009 APSA Workshop on African Elections and Democracy," *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (4): 827-33. [Editors of a Special Symposium on the 2009 APSA Workshop in Ghana].
- 27) Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Priming Presidential Votes by Direct Democracy," *Journal of Politics* 70: 1217-31.
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- 25) Eric Heberlig, Bruce Larson, Daniel A. Smith, and **Kristen Soltis**. 2008. "Look Who's Coming to Dinner: Direct versus Brokered Member Campaign Contributions to the NRCC," *American Politics Research* 36 433-450.
- 24) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2007. "The Instrumental and Educative Effects of Ballot Measures: Research on Direct Democracy in the American States," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4: 417-446.
- 23) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1395-1434.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel Bowen. 2007. "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: A Research Primer for Legal Scholars," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1371-94.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith, **Matthew DeSantis**, and **Jason Kassel**. 2006. "Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures and the 2004 Presidential Election," *State and Local Government Review* 38 (2): 78-91.
- 20) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Representation and Direct Democracy in the United States." *Representation: The Journal of Representative Democracy* 42 (1): 25-44.
- 19) Elizabeth Garrett and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "Veiled Political Actors and Campaign Disclosure Laws in Direct Democracy," *Election Law Journal* 4 (4) 295-328.
- 18) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Educative Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout." *American Politics Research* 33 (2): 283-309.
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Peeling Away the Populist Rhetoric: Toward a Taxonomy of Anti-Tax Ballot Initiatives." *Journal of Public Budgeting and Finance* 24 (4): 88-110.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Overturning Term Limits: The Legislature's Own Private Idaho?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (2): 215-220.
- 15) Caroline J. Tolbert, Ramona McNeal, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3 (1): 23-41.
- 14) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Distorted by Outside Money: National Parties and the Race for Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (3) PSONline E-Symposium <<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=164256>>.

- 13) Daniel A. Smith and **Joseph Lubinski**. 2002. "Direct Democracy during the Progressive Era: A Crack in the Populist Veneer?" *Journal of Policy History* 14 (4): 349-83.
- 12) Jonathan Temin and Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Media Matters: Evaluating the Role of the Media in Ghana's 2000 Elections." *African Affairs* 101: 585-605.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (4): 1-30.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Ghana's 2000 Elections: Consolidating Multi-Party Democracy." *Electoral Studies* 21 (3): 519-26.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline Tolbert. 2001. "The Initiative to Party: Partisanship and Ballot Initiatives in California." *Party Politics* 7 (6): 781-99.
- 8) Caroline Tolbert, John Grummel, and Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Effect of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout in the American States." *American Politics Research* 29 (6): 625-48.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Homeward Bound? Micro-Level Legislative Responsiveness to Ballot Initiatives." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 1 (1): 50-61.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith and **Robert J. Herrington**. 2000. "The Process of Direct Democracy: Colorado's 1996 Parental Rights Amendment." *Social Science Journal* 37 (2): 179-94.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1999. "Reevaluating the Causes of Proposition 13." *Social Science History* 23 (2): 173-210.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith and **Nathaniel Golich**. 1998. "Some Unintended Consequences of TABOR." *Comparative State Politics* 19 (6): 33-40.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith, Kevin M. Leyden, and Stephen A. Borrelli. 1998. "Predicting the Outcomes of Presidential Commissions: Evidence from the Johnson and Nixon Years." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 28 (2): 269-85.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1996. "Populist Entrepreneur: Douglas Bruce and the Tax and Government Limitation Moment in Colorado, 1986-1992." *Great Plains Research* 6 (2): 269-94.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1993. "Removing the Pluralist Blinders: Labor-Management Councils and Industrial Policy in the American States." *Economic Development Quarterly* 7 (4): 373-89.

**UNDER REVIEW** (current PhD students **bold**; former PhD students *italics*; current undergrad students *italics*)

- 1) *Enrijeta Shino*, Mara Suttman-Lea, and Daniel A. Smith, "Voting by Mail in a VENMO World: Assessing Rejected Absentee Ballots in Georgia." Revise and Resubmit.
- 2) "Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness," (with Enrijeta Shino, Anna Baringer, Justin Eichermuller, and William Zelin).

**BOOK CHAPTERS** (current PhD students **bold**; former PhD students *italics*; current undergrad students *italics*)

- 28) *Thessalia Merivaki* and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Challenges in Voter Registration," in *The Future of Election Administration*, Mitchell Brown, Kathleen Hale, and Bridgett A. King, eds. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- 27) Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Trump Territory," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (49-75).
- 26) Daniel A. Smith, **Brian Amos**, Daniel Maxwell, and **Tyler Richards**. 2019. "Rigged? Assessing Election Administration in Florida's 2016 General Election," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (pp. 154-74).
- 25) Daniel A. Smith, **Dillon Boatner**, **Caitlin Ostroff**, **Pedro Otálora**, and **Laura Uribe**, "Early Bird Special: Convenience Voting in Florida's 2016 General Election," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (pp.134-53).
- 24) Michael C. Herron, Daniel A. Smith, **Wendy Serra**, and Joseph Bafumi. 2017. "Wait Times and Voter Confidence: A Study of the 2014 General Election in Miami-Dade County," in *The American Election 2014: Contexts and Consequences*, Tauna Sisco, Christopher Galdieri, and Jennifer Lucas, eds. Akron, OH: University of Akron Press (pp. 107-122).
- 23) **Joseph T. Eagleton** and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "Drawing the Line: Public Support for Amendments 5 and 6," in *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*, Seth C. McKee, ed. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida (pp. 109-25).
- 22) **Diana Forster** and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "A Climate for Change? Environmental Ballot Measures," in *U.S. Climate Change Policy and Civic Society*, Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, ed. Washington, DC: C.Q. Press.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Direct Democracy," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, Michael T. Gibbons, ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- 20) **William Hicks** and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "State Campaigns and Elections," in *The Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, Donald Haider-Markel, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 19) Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Direct Democracy: Regulating the 'Will of the People,'" in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge.
- 18) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Direct Democracy in Colorado: A Historical Perspective," in Courtenay Daum, Robert Duffy, and John Straayer, eds., *State of Change: Colorado Politics in the Twenty-first Century*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Candidate Elections," in Stephen C. Craig and David Hill, *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*, 2nd edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Financing Ballot Measures in the U.S.," in Karin Gilland-Lutz and Simon Hug, eds., *Financing Referendum Campaigns*. New York: Palgrave.
- 15) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Campaigns," in Shaun Bowler and Amihai Glazer, eds., *Direct Democracy's Impact on American Political Institutions*. New York: Palgrave.
- 14) Todd Donovan and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Identifying and Preventing Signature Fraud on Ballot Measure Petitions," in Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds., *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 13) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Election and Ethics Laws," in Bruce Cain, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 12) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Ballot Initiatives," in Gary Anderson and Kathryn Herr, eds., *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- 11) Raymond J. La Raja, **Susan E. Orr**, and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Surviving BCRA: State Party Finance in 2004," in John Green and Daniel Coffey, eds., *The State of the Parties* (5<sup>th</sup> edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections," in Steven Craig, ed., *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith (with **Sure Log**). 2005. "Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Initiative to Party: The Role of Parties in State Ballot Initiatives," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Strings Attached: Outside Money in Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," in David Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Direct Democracy and Its Critics," in Peter Woolley and Albert Papa, eds., *American Politics: Core Argument/Current Controversy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Campaign Financing of Ballot Initiatives in the American States," in Larry Sabato, Bruce Larson, and Howard Ernst, eds., *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Special Interests and Direct Democracy: An Historical Glance," in M. Dane Waters, ed., *The Battle Over Citizen Lawmaking*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith and Jonathan Temin. 2001. "The Media and Ghana's 2000 Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 1 (Thematic Studies). Accra: Freedom Publications.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Politics of Upper East and the 2000 Ghanaian Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 2 (Constituency Studies). Accra: Freedom Publications.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders," in Bruce Stinebrickner, ed., *Annual Editions: State & Local Government*. 9th ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 83-85 [Reprinted].

#### **RESEARCH GRANTS, CONTRACTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS**

- 38) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Emily Boykin** and **Jenna Tingum**), University of Florida, "Spanish Language Materials, Administrative Compliance, and Hispanic Voting in Florida." Fall 2019/Spring 2020.
- 37) CLAS Scholars Program Grant (advising **William Zelin**), University of Florida, "The Effect of Natural Disasters on Voter Turnout." Fall 2019/Spring 2020.
- 36) Gill Foundation Grant, "LGBT Issues in Florida," Spring 2018 (Co-PI, Michael Martinez).
- 35) University of Florida Term Professorship, 2017-2019.
- 34) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Pedro Otálora**), University of Florida, "Political Participation of Native-Born and Naturalized Citizens in Miami-Dade." Summer/Fall 2017.
- 33) Ruben Askew Scholar Award (advising Wendy Serra), Bob Graham Center, University of Florida, Summer 2016.
- 32) Emerging Scholars Program (advising **Anthony Rychkov**), University of Florida, "The Timing of Voter Registration and Turnout," Spring/Summer 2016.
- 31) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Casey Ste. Claire**), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Reprecincting and Voter Turnout," Fall 2015/Spring 2016.
- 30) University Scholars Program Grant (with Frances Chapman), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Truing or Suppressing the Vote? Private Voter Challenges in Florida," Fall 2013/Spring 2014.
- 29) Best Paper Award presented in 2012 by the APSA Organized Section on State Politics and Policy: "Souls to the Polls: Early Voting in Florida in the Shadow of House Bill 1355," 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- 28) University Scholars Program Grant (with Bryce Freeman), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Impact of Voter Suppression on Political Participation," Spring 2013.
- 27) The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, "Popular Support and Conditions for the Passage of Ballot Measures," June 2013.
- 26) Advancement Project, "Congestion at the Polls: A Study of Florida Precincts in the 2012 General Election," June 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- 25) Co-Principal Investigator, "Trans-Saharan Professionals Program," United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, S-ECAPPE-10-GR-231 (DT), September 2010-August 2012.

- 24) University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012 (annual salary supplement and research funding).
- 23) Co-Principal Investigator, *American Political Science Association Workshop on Elections and Democracy*, University of Ghana at Legon, Ghana, Summer 2009, funded by Mellon Foundation.
- 22) Best Paper Award presented in 2006 by the APSA Organized Section on State Politics and Policy: "Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?" (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- 21) Research Grant, "Did Gay Marriage Re-Elect George W. Bush?" University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, Summer 2005.
- 20) University Scholars Program Grant (with Kirsten Soltis), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Money and the Member: An Analysis of Fundraising in Congressional Politics in the Post-Campaign Finance Reform Era," Fall 2005.
- 19) Research Grant, "Mobilization Effects of Ballot Measures in Colorado, Florida, Ohio, and Nevada," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.
- 18) Research Grant, "Mobilization Effects of Gay Marriage Ban in Ohio," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.
- 17) Research and Travel Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Veiled Political Actors," Daniel Lowenstein, Kim Alexander, Robert Stern, Tracy Western, and Joseph Doherty, Principle Investigators, Fall 2003.
- 16) Travel Grant, *College of Liberal Arts and Sciences*, University of Florida, "Initiative and Referendum Campaigns," Fall 2003.
- 15) Research Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Outside Money: Colorado's 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District," David Magleby, Principal Investigator, Fall 2002.
- 14) Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era," *University of Denver*, Fall 2002.
- 13) Research Grant, *American Political Science Association*, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era: Evidence from California, 1912-1920," Summer 2002.
- 12) Research Grant, *Colorado Endowment for the Humanities*, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Colorado's Election of 1912," (R017-0300-010) (with Joseph Lubinski), Spring 2000.
- 11) Partners in Scholarship: 2000 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Evidence from the Colorado Election of 1912," *University of Denver*, with Joseph Lubinski).
- 10) Rosenberry Fund, "Direct Democracy in Colorado," *University of Denver*, Spring 1999.
- 9) Best Paper, Charles Redd Politics of the American West, "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13," *Western Political Science Association*, Los Angeles, March 20, 1998.
- 8) Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Warriors: Citizen Initiatives in the 1990s," *University of Denver*, Fall 1997.
- 7) Partners in Scholarship: 1997 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The Process of Direct Democracy: Parental Rights Amendment," *University of Denver*, with Robert Herrington, Winter 1997.
- 6) Faculty Research Fund, "Faux Populism: Populist Entrepreneurs and Populist Moments," *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.
- 5) International Small Grants, "Election Monitor: Ghana Presidential and Parliamentary 1996 Elections," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.
- 4) Faculty Research Fund, "Populist Prophets and the Mass Appeal of Direct Democracy," Program Support Services, *University of Denver*, Spring 1995.
- 3) Research Grant, Institute for Public Affairs, *West Virginia University*, Summer 1994.
- 2) Senate Research Travel Grant, Faculty Development Fund, *West Virginia University*, Fall 1994.
- 1) Research Travel Grant, Robert LaFollette Institute of Public Affairs, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*, Fall 1992.

#### **TECHNICAL REPORTS & OTHER SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**

- 27) Daniel A. Smith, "Audit of Assignment of Registered Voters to New, Court-Ordered House of Delegates Districts," Virginia Secretary of State (with Michael P. McDonald), Spring 2019.
- 26) Daniel A. Smith, "Vote-by-Mail Ballots Cast in Florida," A Report Commissioned by *ACLU Florida*, August 2018.
- 25) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Congestion at the Polls: A Study of Florida Precincts in the 2012 General Election," A Report Commissioned by Advancement Project, Washington, DC, June 24, 2013. Available: <http://www.advancementproject.org/news/entry/voters-of-color-faced-longest-wait-times-in-florida>.
- 24) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Florida's 2012 General Election under HB 1355: Early Voting, Provisional Ballots, and Absentee Ballots," League of Women Voters Florida, January 2013.
- 23) Daniel A. Smith, "The Re-demarcation and Reapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies in Ghana," *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-GHANA)*, Vol. 10 (2): October, 2011. Available: <http://www.cddghana.org/documents/Vol.%2010,%20No.%202.pdf>
- 22) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Evidence from the US States," Memorandum requested by the British House of Lords, Constitution Committee, January 4. Available: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200910/ldselect/ldconst/99/99we14.htm>.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Money Talks: Ballot Initiative Spending in 2004." *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center*, June. Available: <http://ballot.org>.
- 20) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Ballot Initiatives, Tax Issues," in Larry Sabato and Howard Ernst, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections*. New York: Facts on File.



- 19) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Direct Democracy," in David Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 18) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2003. "Educated by Initiative," *Campaigns and Elections*, August, p. 31.
- 17) Elizabeth Garrett, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Disclosure Statutes" (July 22). USC Law and Public Policy Research Paper No. 03-13 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=424603>.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado," in Daphne T. Greenwood, ed., *Colorado's Future: Meeting the Needs of a Changing State*. Colorado Springs: Center for Colorado Policy Studies.
- 15) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "The Colorado 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District," in David B. Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Provo, UT: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy.
- 14) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2002. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2001." Issue Brief No. 02-02. (March 5) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [Revised Edition].
- 13) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Howard Jarvis' Legacy? An Assessment of Antitax Initiatives in the American States." *State Tax Notes* 22: 10 (December): 753-764.
- 12) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's December 2000 Elections." Critical Perspectives, No. 6. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith, Jonathan Temin, and Kwaku Nuamah. 2001. "Media Coverage of the 2000 Election: A Report on the Media Coverage of Election 2000 (May 2000-January 2001)." Research Paper, No. 8. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Election 2000: Debating the Issues?" Briefing Paper, Volume 2, Number 4, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Growth and Transportation Ballot Measures in Colorado," in Floyd Ciruli, ed., *Moving Visions: Next Steps Toward Growing Smart*. Denver: Gates Family Foundation.
- 8) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2000." Issue Brief No. 8. (December) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [updated 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008]
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Progressives and the Initiative Process: A Call to Arms." *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC)*.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "Sponsoring 'Counter-Majoritarian' Bills in Colorado." *Ag Journal*. (September): 12-13.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders." *State Government News*. 41:2 (March): 18-21.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur," Working Paper, 97-8, Institute of Governmental Studies, *University of California - Berkeley*.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1995. "The West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council," *The West Virginia Public Affairs Reporter*. 12:4 (Winter): 1-11.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1992. "A Tale of Five Cities," *The La Follette Policy Report*. 5 (Fall): 18-21.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1991. "Emerging Skill Needs in the Wisconsin Non-Automotive Engines Industry," Commissioned by the Wisconsin Board of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education, Working Paper, *Center on Wisconsin Strategy*, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

**OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES: BOARDS/EXPERT WITNESS/POLITICAL CONSULTANT/INVITED TESTIMONY/MISCELLANEOUS**

President, ElectionSmith [www.electionsmith.com](http://www.electionsmith.com) (S-Corp) 2006-  
 Board Member, Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC) [www.ballot.org](http://www.ballot.org) 1999-2019.  
 Board Member, Common Cause Florida <https://www.commoncause.org/florida/> 2014-  
 Board President, 300 Club <https://300clubswimandtennis.com/> 2018-

**Domestic Consulting**

Expert (written declaration), *Dream Defenders, et al. v. DeSantis, et al.* Case 4:20-cv-00067-RH-GRJ (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing vote by mail records in Florida], 2020.  
 Expert (written declaration), *Lewis, et al. v. Hughs*. Case 5:20-cv-00577 (US District Court for the Western District of Texas). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing vote by mail records in Texas], 2020.  
 Consulting Expert, *Nielsen, et al. v. DeSantis, et al.* Case 4:20-cv-00236-MW-MJF (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided confidential work product for plaintiffs analyzing vote by mail records in Florida], 2020.  
 Expert (written declarations), *Gruver, et al. v. Barton, et al.* Case 1:19-cv-00121-MW-GRJ (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided written reports and deposed for plaintiffs analyzing records on the impact of SB7066 on Florida residents with felony convictions and outstanding LFOs], 2019-20.  
 Consultant, Andrew Goodman Foundation [Analysis of on-campus early voting in Florida], 2019.  
 Consultant, ACLU-Florida [Data analysis of Ex-Felons in Florida], 2019-.  
 Expert (written declaration), *DNC Services Corporation et al. v. Lee et al.* Case 4:18-cv-00524-MW-CAS (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs on Vote by Mail ballots in Florida], 2019-.

- Expert (written declaration), *MOVE Texas Civic Fund, et. al. v. Whitley, et. al.* Case 3:19-cv-00041 (US District Court for the Southern District of Texas) [Provided written reports for plaintiffs on number of naturalized citizens in Texas], 2019.
- Expert (written declarations), *Fair Fight Action v. Crittenden*, Case No. 1:18-cv-05391 (US District Court for the Northern District of Georgia) [Retained by plaintiffs to analyze data related to Georgia's election laws], 2018-.
- Expert, *The Democratic Party of Georgia v. Crittenden*, Case No. 1:18-cv-05443 (US District Court for the Northern District of Georgia) [Retained by plaintiffs to analyze data related to the 2018 gubernatorial election], 2018.
- Consultant, ACLU-Florida [Provided analysis of Vote by Mail ballots in Florida], 2018.
- Expert, *Judicial Watch, Inc., Election Integrity Project California, Inc., et al. v. Dean C. Logan, et al.* Case No. 2:17-cv-08948-R-SK (US District Court for the Central District of California, Western Division). [Retained by defendants (California Department of Justice) to analyze data concerning inactive voters], 2018.
- Expert (written declaration), *Rivera v. Detzner*, Case 1:18-cv-61474 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs on Puerto Rican population and registered voters in Florida], 2018.
- Expert, *Thompson et al. v. Merrill*, Case No. 2: 16-cv-783 (US District Court for the Middle District of Alabama) [Retained by plaintiffs to analyze data related to the discriminatory impact of Alabama's felony disenfranchisement scheme over time], 2018-.
- Expert (written affidavit), *League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc., et al. v. Detzner*, Case No. 4:18-cv-00251-MW-CAS (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs (LWV) to extend early voting in Florida], 2018.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute, et al. v. Secretary of State, Jon Husted*, Case 2:16-cv-00303 (US District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, Eastern Division) [Provided written report and deposed for plaintiffs (APRI, ACLU OH, Demos) to reinstate registered voters removed by Ohio's "Supplemental Process"], 2017. [Decision, *Husted v. APRI*, by SCOTUS, July 11, 2018].
- Expert (written affidavits), *Bellito & ACRU v. Snipes*, Case 4:16-cv-61474 (US District Court for the Southern District of Florida, Ft. Lauderdale Division) [Provided written expert reports and deposed for intervenors (SEIU, Project Vote, Demos) to defend NVRA compliance by Broward Supervisor of Elections, 2017; testified at trial].
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of CVAP, VAP, and registered voters in Irwin County, Georgia], 2017.
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of proposed redistricting changes to the Georgia House of Representatives by the Georgia state legislature], 2017.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott*, Case 4:16-cv-00626 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written expert report for plaintiff-intervenors (Mi Familia Vota Education Fund) to extend voter registration deadline in Florida due to Hurricane Matthew], 2016.
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of registration deadline in Georgia due to Hurricane Matthew], 2016.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Florida Democratic Party v. Detzner*, Case 4:16-cv-00607 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written empirical analysis for plaintiff on vote-by-mail ballots cast in Florida], 2016.
- Advisor, "Mad As Hell: Howard Jarvis and the Birth of the Tax Revolt," Documentary Film by Jason Cohn, Bread and Butter Films [Academic Advisor on Jarvis and antecedents of Prop. 13], 2011-16.
- Advisor, "Rigged," Documentary Film by Natasha del Torro, Fusion TV (Naked Truth), 2016. [Winner of the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for Best Documentary]. Available: <http://tv.fusion.net/story/352548/naked-truth-rigged-elections-documentary/>.
- Advisor, "Voting: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver," HBO, February 14, 2016. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHfOwlMCdto>.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Frank v. Walker*, Case 16-3003, 16-3052 (US Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit) [Provided written empirical analysis for plaintiffs (ACLU) on voter ID and turnout], 2015.
- Expert (consultant), *Greater Birmingham Ministries v. Alabama*, Case 2:15-cv-02193-LSC (US District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, Southern Division) [Provided oral empirical analysis for plaintiffs (NAACP LDEF) on use of absentee ballots], 2015.
- Consultant, America Votes [Provided demographic shift of registered voters analysis for state of Florida], 2015.
- Expert (written affidavits), *NAACP, et al. v. Husted, et al.*, 2:14 cv-00404 (US District Court for the Southern District of Ohio) [Provided written empirical analysis and deposed for plaintiffs (ACLU) on early in-person absentee voting in Ohio], 2014.
- Expert (written affidavit), *John Sullivan, et al. v. Marni Lin Savicki, et al.*, 2013-CA-003122 (20<sup>th</sup> Judicial Circuit (Lee County, FL) [Provided written empirical analysis and deposed on early, absentee, and Election Day vote totals in the November 5, 2013 Cape Coral mayoral election], 2014.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Gateway Retail Center, LLC v. City of Jacksonville, Florida*, 3:13-cv1040-J-TJC-JRK (US District Court for the Middle District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Gateway Retail Center's attorneys of African American voting during early voting in Duval County in the 2012 General Election], 2013.
- Expert (written affidavits), *Arcia, et al. v. Detzner*, 1:12-cv-22282-WJZ (US District Court for the Southern District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Arcia's attorneys of the Florida Department of State's various lists of "potential non-citizens"], 2012. [*Arcia, et al. v. Florida Secretary of State* (Defendant-Appellee) and *Garcia, et al.* (Intervenor Defendants), 12-15738 (Appealed in 11<sup>th</sup> Circuit, from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida), 2014.

Elections Analyst, WUFT (TV and Radio), Election Night Coverage, November 6, 2012.

Advisor, “Voters in America: Who Counts?” CNN Documentary Investigation, October 14, 2012.  
<http://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2012/10/19/voters-in-america-who-counts-joejohnscnn-investigates-voter-suppression-voter-fraud/>

Expert (written affidavit), *Brown v. Detzner* 3:12-cv-00852 (US District Court for the Middle District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Brown’s attorneys of minority early voting in Duval County during the 2008 and 2010 general elections and the 2011 Jacksonville mayoral race], 2012.

Expert (written affidavits), *Romo v. Scott*, No. 2012-CA-000412 (Fla. Cir. Ct., Leon County). [Provided empirical analyses and deposed for Coalition’s attorneys of new Congressional redistricting maps submitted and adopted by the Florida legislature as well as alternative maps submitted by the The League of Women Voters of Florida, the National Council of La Raza, and Common Cause Florida], 2012-14.

*Pro Bono* Consultant (written work product), *League of Women Voters of FL v. Browning*, N.D. Fla. (4:11-cv-00628). [Provided empirical analysis for LWV’s attorneys (Brennan Center, New York University), assessing the impact of Florida’s “third party organization” voter registration requirements], 2012.

*Pro Bono* Consultant (written work product), Hillsborough Hispanic Coalition, Tampa, Florida, 2012. [Provided empirical analysis of the likely racial/ethnic impact of the redistricting maps adopted by the Hillsborough County Commission, and provided alternative maps to be submitted by the Hillsborough Hispanic Coalition, in anticipation of federal litigation], 2012.

*Invited Testimony*, U.S. Senate, Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Human Rights, “New State Voting Laws II: Protecting the Right to Vote in the Sunshine State,” January 2012.

Expert (written affidavit), *Worley v. Detzner*, U.S. District Court, N.D. Fla (4:10-cv-00423-RH-WCS). [Provided expert opinion to Florida Secretary of State to help defend Election code provisions concerning the reporting, registration, and disclosure requirements applicable to political committees (ballot issues)], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *Citizens Against Slots v. PPE Casino*, 999 A.2<sup>nd</sup> 181 (2010) 415 Md. 117. [Provided empirical analysis of the validity rates of the signatures submitted by Citizens Against Slots for a county popular referendum], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *The Independence Institute, et. al. v. Bernie Buescher* 1:2010-cv-00609. (US 10<sup>th</sup> Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis for the Office of the Colorado Attorney General to defend Secretary of State’s enforcement of public disclosure laws for ballot issue committees], 2009-2010.

Lead Author, “Direct Democracy Scholars” Amicus Brief, *Doe v. Reed*, 132 S. Ct. 449. [Provided empirical evidence that public disclosure of signatures on ballot measures serves sufficiently important governmental interests in order to prevent fraudulent signature gathering activities, to limit the deceptive solicitation of signatures, and to provide information to voters about ballot measures], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *Dallman, et al. v. William Ritter and Rich L. Gonzales and Daniel Ritchie, et al* 09SA224 (Colorado Supreme Court) [Provided empirical analysis for Ritter, Gonzales, and Ritchie of analysis of campaign financing of ballot measures], 2009-10.

Expert (written affidavit), *Sampson v. Buescher*, 08-1389, 08-1415 (US 10<sup>th</sup> Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis refuting claims of barriers to participation in ballot issue campaigns for Office of the Colorado Attorney General, defending Secretary of State’s enforcement of disclosure laws], 2007-10.

Consultant, *Trust the Voters*, Tallahassee, 2006.

Consultant, *The Washington State Patrol Troopers Association* [Conducted empirical analysis for State Patrol Troopers of the validity of signatures collected on ballot issue campaign], 2006.

Expert (written affidavit), *The City of Winter Springs, FL v. Seminole County*, City of Winter Springs, 2004.

Expert (written affidavit), *California Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Karen Getman, et al* 328 F.3d 1088, 1101 (US 9<sup>th</sup> Cir) [Provided empirical analysis for the Office of the California Attorney General on veiled political actors in California ballot measure campaigns], 2004-05.

Expert (written affidavit), *Colorado Right to Life Committee, Inc. v. Donetta Davidson* 395 F.Supp.2d 1001 (US 10<sup>th</sup> Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis of broadcasted television and direct mail ads in Colorado between 1999-2003 for the Office of the Colorado Attorney General], 2004-05.

Invited Testimony, Ballot Initiative Reform, Florida Legislature, 2002; 2003-05.

Invited Testimony Witness, Ballot Initiative Reform, Colorado Legislature, 1999-2000.

Consultant (*pro bono*), *Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Heath Care*, Denver, CO, 1998-2000.

### ***International Consulting***

Consultant, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Ghana, 2013.

Invited Written Testimony, *British House of Lords*, Constitution Committee (Direct Democracy), 2010.

Consultant, *Institute of International Education (IIE)*, New York, 2002-04.

Consultant, *Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers (CODEO)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01.

Consultant, *International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)*, Washington, DC, 1999-2001.

Consultant, *International Student Exchange Program (ISEP)*, Washington, DC, 1995-97.

**BOOK REVIEWS & REVIEW ESSAYS**

- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. Review of Dorothy Holland, Donald M. Nonini, Catherine Lutz, Lesley Bartlett, Marla Frederick-McGlahtery, Thaddeus C. Guldbradsen, and Enrique G. Murillo, Jr., Local Democracy Under Siege: Activism, Public Interests, and Private Politics, *Perspectives on Politics* 6: 386-86.
- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. Review of Stephen Nicholson, Voting the Agenda: Candidates, Elections, and Ballot Propositions, *Political Science Quarterly* 120: 695-697.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. Review of John Matsusaka, For the Many or the Few? The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy, *Perspectives on Politics* 3: 646-47.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. Review of Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy, *Social Science Quarterly* 81: 1104-1106.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1999. Review of Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, eds., Citizens as Legislators, *American Political Science Review* 93: 446-447.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of David Ryden, Representation in Crisis, *Politics and Policy* 26: 514-515.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of Grant Recher and Joseph Cammarano, eds., Education for Citizenship, *H-Pol, H-Net*. (February).
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. Review Essay of William S. K. Reno, Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone, and Sahr John Kpundeh, Politics and Corruption in Africa, *Africa Today* 44: 362-365.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1996. Review of Stephen Lowe, The Kid on the Sandlot: Congress and Professional Sports, 1910-1992, *Sport History Review* 27: 90-92.

**TEACHING GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS**

Anderson Scholar Award, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida, 2011; 2015; 2016; 2017  
 Political Science Board of Advisors, "Outstanding Professor Award," *University of Florida*, Spring 2008.  
 Center for Teaching and Learning Technology Grant, "Introduction to American Politics: Web-Based Interactive Learning," *University of Denver*, Spring, 1997.  
 Faculty Appreciation Award, Learning Effectiveness Program, *University of Denver*, April 1997.  
 Curriculum Diversity Grant, "A Theater History: The Racial and Class Politics of US Drama from Colonization Forward," *University of Denver*, Winter, 1997.  
 CORE Development Grant, "Drama of Politics/Politics of Drama," *University of Denver*, Summer, 1996.  
 International Small Grants, "Summer Student Study Abroad Program: University of Ghana at Legon," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.  
 International Small Grants, "Ghana Study Abroad Program," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.

**NEWSPAPER OP-EDS, INVITED BLOG POSTS & LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

- Op-Ed, "[Minor postal delays could disenfranchise thousands of Florida vote-by-mail voters](#)," *Tampa Bay Times*, August 14, 2020 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[Here's the problem with mail-in ballots: They might not be counted](#)," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), May 21, 2020 (with Enrijeta Shino and Mara Suttman-Lea).
- Op-Ed, "[Your voting habits may depend on when you registered to vote](#)," *Salon*, September 24, 2019. [Originally appeared in *the Conversation*] (with Enrijeta Shino).
- Invited Blog Post, "[Who Votes Provisionally and Why? A Look at North Carolina's 2016 General Election](#)," MIT Election Science Data Lab, May 2, 2018. (with Lia Merivaki).
- Op-Ed, "[Do we have a right not to vote? The Supreme Court suggests we don't](#)," *NY Daily News*, June 12, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[If more states start using Ohio's system, how many voters will be purged?](#)" *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), June 17, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[2-to-1 Registration Advantage for Democrats among 440K New Hispanic Voters In Florida](#)," *Huffington Post*, October 7, 2016.
- Op-Ed, "[The Battle Over 'One Person, One Vote,' Has Just Begun](#)," *The American Prospect*, April 18, 2016. (with Carl Klarner).
- Invited Blog Post, "[Party competition is the primary driver of the recent increase in restrictive voter ID laws in the American states](#)," London School of Economics, U.S. Politics and Policy, November 12, 2014.
- Op-Ed, "Rejected Ballots in Florida," *Florida Voices*, November 4, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "High ballot rejection rates should worry Florida voters," *Tampa Bay Times*, October 28, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "Voters need to push back against corporate cash," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 13, 2010.
- Op-Ed, "A chance for Floridians to redraw rigged districts," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 25, 2009.
- Op-Ed, "Lawmakers don't trust voters with the constitution," *Gainesville Sun*, October 21, 2006.
- Op-Ed, "Jeb Bush's secret-squirrel hunt? Rocky, that's just a bunch of Bullwinkle," *Orlando Sentinel*, February 23, 2006.
- Op-Ed, "Colorado: Independent of Whom?" Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, *Ballot Blog*, August 29, 2005.
- Op-Ed, "Stop Political Fund-Raising Arm," *Gainesville Sun*, April 25, 2004 (with Nicole M. James).



- Op-Ed, "Committees Hold the Secret to Campaign Financing," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 10, 2004 (with Nicole M. James).
- Letter, "Reform Ballot Initiative and Preserve the People's Power," *Miami Herald*, February 29, 2004.
- Op-Ed, "No: The Rich Have Taken Over," *Denver Post*, December 1, 2002.
- Op-Ed, "The Millionaire's Club: Why Leave Ballot Initiatives to the Rich?" *Denver Post*, August 18, 2002.
- Op-Ed, "The Political Consequence of 'Praying for Peace,'" *The Crusading Guide* [Accra, Ghana], 12-18 October, 2000.
- Letter, "Book's [*Democracy Derailed* by David Broder] premise is problematic," *Denver Post*, May 28, 2000.
- Letter, "Initiative process ignores rural voices," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, March 15, 2000.
- Op-Ed, "Progressives need to show initiative on ballot signatures," *Denver Post*, January 13, 2000.
- Op-Ed, "Colorado should put campaign finance data on the Internet," *Denver Post*, November 4, 1998 (with Richard Braunstein).
- Letter, "Follow the Money," *Washington Post*, October 12, 1998.
- Op-Ed, "Voters behind rule," *Denver Post*, June 21, 1998.
- Op-Ed, "Founders crafted safeguards against popular excesses," *Denver Post*, May 21, 1995.

#### **CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

- "The Electoral Landscape after a Natural Disaster: Hurricane Michael's Effect on Turnout in Florida," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 8-11, 2020, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with William A. Zelin).
- "The Turnout Effects of Spanish Language Voting Materials," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 8-11, 2020, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with Emily Boykin and Jenna Tingum).
- "Voter Registration after Parkland and Early Voting on College Campuses," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- "Did Ballot Design Oust a US Senator? A Study of the 2018 Election in Florida," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- "Barriers to Registering Returning Citizens in Florida," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019.
- "Ballot Design, Voter Intentions, and Representation: A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida," Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Pennsylvania, July 10-12, 201 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- "Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses in Florida," 19<sup>th</sup> State Politics and Policy Conference at the University of Maryland, May 30-June 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- "Did Ballot-Design Oust an Incumbent Senator? A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Michael Herron and Michael Martinez).
- "Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino, Anna Baringer, Justin Eichermuller, and William Zelin).
- "Voter Registration after Parkland and Early Voting on College Campuses," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- "Did Ballot Design Oust a US Senator? A Study of the 2018 Election in Florida," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- "Barriers to Registering Returning Citizens in Florida," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019.
- "Ballot Design, Voter Intentions, and Representation: A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida," Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Pennsylvania, July 10-12, 201 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- "Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses in Florida," 19<sup>th</sup> State Politics and Policy Conference at the University of Maryland, May 30-June 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- "Did Ballot-Design Oust an Incumbent Senator? A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Michael Herron and Michael Martinez).
- "Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino, Anna Baringer, Justin Eichermuller, and William Zelin).
- "Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters," American Political Science Association, Boston MA, August 28-September 1, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- "Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters," Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Wisconsin-Madison, July 26-27, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- "Exact-Match Voter List Verification and Turnout," 18<sup>th</sup> State Politics and Policy Conference at Penn State, June 7-9, 2018 (with Michael P. McDonald, Pedro Otálora, and Enrijeta Shino).
- "Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters," at the 18<sup>th</sup> State Politics and Policy Conference at Penn State, June 7-9, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- "Who are Provisional Voters? Evidence from North Carolina," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 5-8, 2018, Chicago (with Lia Merivaki).

- “A History and Analysis of Black Representation in Southern State Legislatures,” Symposium on Southern Politics, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1-2, 2018 (with Charles S. Bullock III, William D. Hicks, M. V. (Trey) Hood III, Seth C. McKee, and Adam Myers).
- “Who are Provisional Voters? Evidence from North Carolina,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 4-7, 2018, New Orleans (with Lia Merivaki).
- “Naturalizing the Party: Party Registration and Voter Turnout of Foreign-Born Citizens,” State of the Party: 2016 & Beyond, November 10, 2017, Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron, Ohio (with Lidia Kurganova).
- “The Erosion of Liberal Democracy: Dissensus and Ideology in America,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with William D. Hicks and Seth C. McKee).
- “Early Voting Availability and Turnout in Florida and North Carolina,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with David Cottrell and Michael C. Herron).
- “Determinants of County Level Voter Turnout, 1970-2016,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with Carl Klarner, Brian Amos, and Michael P. McDonald).
- “Waiting to Vote: Using EViD Data to Assess the Electoral Consequences of Long Voting Lines,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 6-9, 2017, Chicago (with David Cottrell and Michael C. Herron).
- “Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States,” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation,” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016 (with Seth C. McKee, William D. Hicks; Carl E. Klarner).
- “Defending Democracy: How Political Scientists Are Engaging in the Fight over Voting Rights (and Why You and Your Dept. Should too),” APSA Roundtable with Theda Skocpol, Presented by the Scholars Strategy Network, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016.
- “Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Texas at Dallas, May 19-21, 2016 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Descriptive Representation,” State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Texas at Dallas, May 19-21, 2016 (with Seth C. McKee, William D. Hicks; Carl E. Klarner).
- “Purging Participation? Eligibility Challenges, Psychological Reactance, and the Decision to Vote,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 7-10, 2016, Chicago (with Daniel Biggers and Bryce Freeman).
- “Missing Black Men and Representation in American Political Institutions,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 7-10, 2016, Chicago (with David Cottrell, Michael Herron, and Javier Rodriguez).
- “Early Voting Effects on Pre-Election Poll Estimates,” Southern Political Science Association, January 7-10, 2016, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with Michael P. McDonald, Michael D. Martinez, and Chris McCarty).
- “Your Ballot’s in the Mail: The Effects of Unsolicited Absentee Ballots,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Michael Martinez).
- “A Reassessment of the Turnout Effects in of Election Reforms in the United States,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Michael P. McDonald and Enrijeta Shino).
- “Reprecincting and Voting Behavior,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Brian Amos and Casey Ste. Claire).
- “Looks Can Be Deceiving: Explaining Support for Online Voter Registration in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Conference, California State University, Sacramento, May 28-30, 2015 (with William Hicks and Seth McKee).
- “Public Opinion on Statewide Ballot Measures,” State Politics and Policy Conference, California State University, Sacramento, May 28-30, 2015 (with Diana Forster).
- “Early Voting Effects on Pre-Election Poll Estimates,” American Association for Public Opinion Research Annual Conference, May 14-17, 2015, Hollywood, Florida (with Michael P. McDonald, Michael D. Martinez, and Chris McCarty).
- “Dumbing Down the Electorate? Assessing the Political Knowledge of Early Voters,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 15-19, 2015, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Who Signs? Ballot Petition Signatures as Political Participation,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 2014 (with Diana Forster and Brian Amos).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” State Politics and Policy Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “The Effects of Spatial Proximity on Voting,” State Politics and Policy Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014 (with Kenton Ngo).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 3-6, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Beyond Regulatory Interpretation: The Demand and Supply of Provisional Ballots in Florida,” Symposium on Regulation in the U.S. States, DeVoe Center, Florida State University, Tallahassee, February 21, 2014 (with Lia Merivaki).

- “Evolution of an Issue: Voter ID Laws in the American States,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 28-September 2, 2013 (with Seth McKee, William Hicks, and Mitch Sellers).
- “Closing the Door on Democracy”: Early Voting and Participation in Florida,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 28-September 2, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Evolution of an Issue: Voter ID Laws in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 13<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, May 23-25, 2013 (with Seth McKee, William Hicks, and Mitch Sellers).
- “Early Voting in Florida in the Aftermath of House Bill 1355,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 13<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, May 23-25, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Racial Disparities in Provisional Ballot Rejection Rates,” Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 11-14, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Who Registers? The Differential Impact of Florida’s House Bill 1355 on Voter Registration,” American Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, August 30-September 2, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “The Effect of Polling Locations Upon Vote Choice: A Natural Experiment,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, Orlando, January 3-5, 2013 (with Charles Dahhan).
- “Casting and Verifying Provisional Ballots in Florida,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, Orlando, January 3-5, 2013 (with Lia Merivaki).
- “Who Registers? The Differential Impact of Florida’s House Bill 1355 on Voter Registration,” American Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, August 30-September 2, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “The Participatory Impact of Truncating Early Voting in Florida,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Rice University, Houston, TX, February 16 – February 18, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “Engaging Potential Voters? The Collection of Valid Signatures on Ballot Petitions,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 11<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Dartmouth University, June 4-6, 2011 (with Diana Forster).
- “Pledging Democracy: Congressional Support for a National Advisory Initiative and Referendum,” Southern Political Science Association, January 5-8, 2011, New Orleans (presented by Matthew Harrigan).
- “We Know What You Did Last Summer: The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Janine Parry and Shayne Henry).
- “Reassessing Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement: A Panel Study of the 2008 Election,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).
- “Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Work, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010.
- “Obama to Blame: Minority Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida,” American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, September 2-5, 2009 (with Stephanie Slade).
- “State Context and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S.” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 9<sup>th</sup> annual conference, UNC Chapel Hill/Duke University, May 22-23, 2009 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).
- “Direct Democracy, Opinion Formation, and Candidate Choice,” American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, August 2008 (with Caroline J. Tolbert).
- “The Legislative Regulation of the Initiative,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008.
- “The Initiative to Shirk? The Effects of Ballot Measures on Congressional Voting Behavior,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008 (with Josh Huder and Jordan Ragusa).
- “Participatory-Based Trust? Political Trust and Direct Democracy,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel Bowen).
- “Giving Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States,” Western Political Science Association Conference, Las Vegas, NV, March 7-9, 2007 (with Dustin Fridkin).
- “Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Austin, TX, February 22-24, 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).
- “Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: Partisanship and Representational Winners and Losers,” American Political Science Association Conference, Philadelphia, August 2006 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).
- “Gaming the System: The Effect of BCRA on State Party Finance Activities.” *The State of the Parties: 2004 & Beyond*. Ray C. Bliss Institute for Applied Politics, Akron, OH, October 2005 (with Susan Orr).
- “Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- “Did Gay Marriage Elect George W. Bush?” *Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Janine Parry).

- “Was Rove Right? Evangelicals and the Impact of Gay Marriage in the 2004 Election,” *Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Matt DeSantis and Jason Kassel).
- “Partisanship, Direct Democracy, and Candidate Choice,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- “Did Gay Marriage Elect the President? Mobilizing Effects of Ballot Measures in the 2004 Election,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Oakland, CA, March 17-19, 2005 (with Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert).
- “Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections,” Conference on *What We Know and Don't Know about Campaigns and Elections*, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, February 24-5, 2005.
- “Was Rove Right? The Partisan Wedge and Turnout Effects of Issue 1, Ohio’s 2004 Ballot Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage,” *University of California Center for the Study of Democracy/USC-Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics/Initiative and Referendum Institute Conference*, Newport Beach, CA, January 14-15, 2005.
- “The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy on Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004 (with Caroline Tolbert).
- “Turning On and Turning Out: Assessing the Indirect Effects of Ballot Measures on Voter Participation,” *Fourth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Kent State University, Kent, OH, April 30-May 2, 2004 (with Todd Donovan).
- “Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Finance Disclosure Statutes?” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 14-18, 2004 (with Elizabeth Garrett).
- “Elephants, Umbrellas, and Quarrelling Cocks: Disaggregating Party Identification in Ghana’s Fourth Republic,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, OR, March 11-13, 2004 (with Kevin Fridy).
- “Gaming the System: State Party Finance Activities in Colorado and Florida,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, January 7-10, 2004.
- “The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Ballot Campaigns and Civic Engagement in the American States,” Società Italiana di Studi Elettorali (SISE) VIIIth International Conference on Electoral Campaigns (Initiative and Referendum), Venice, Italy, December 18-20, 2003.
- “In the Wake of Prop. 13,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Philadelphia, PA, August 27-31, 2003.
- “Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Colorado 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District Election,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Denver, CO, March 26-30, 2003.
- “Educated by Initiative: Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement in the American States,” *Third Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, March 14-15, 2003 (with Caroline Tolbert).
- “Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado,” *Colorado’s Future: How Can We Meet the Needs of a Changing State?* University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, September 27, 2002.
- “Representation and the Spatial Dimension of Direct Democracy,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.
- “Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Second Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI, May 24-25, 2002.
- “Minority Rights and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, New Orleans, LA, March 27-30, 2002.
- “Representation and the Urban Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Long Beach, CA, March 21-24 2002.
- “Ghost Busters: The Structural Underpinnings and Politics of Ghana’s 2000 Elections,” *African Studies Association Conference*, Houston, TX, November 15-18, 2001.
- “The Effect of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000 (with Caroline Tolbert and John Grummel).
- “Campaign Finance of Ballot Initiatives,” *National Direct Democracy Conference*, University of Virginia’s Center for Governmental Studies, Charlottesville, VA, June 8-9, 2000.
- “Meet the Authors Roundtable: Recent Books on Direct Democracy in the States,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 27-30, 2000.
- “Counter-Majoritarian Bills and Legislative Response of State Ballot Initiatives,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Jose, March 24-26, 2000.
- “The Gun Behind the Door Fires Blanks,” *Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Conference*, Eugene, OR, October 14-16, 1999.
- “Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999 (with Sure Log).
- “Direct Democracy in Colorado: Limited Information, Tough Choices,” A Century of Citizen Lawmaking: Initiative and Referendum in America, *Initiative and Referendum Institute*, Washington, D.C., May 6-8, 1999.
- “The Initiative to Party: The Role of Political Parties in State Ballot Measures,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Seattle, March 25-28, 1999.
- “Direct Democracy in the Late 20th Century: The Legacy(ies) of Prop. 13,” Roundtable, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.



- "The Legacy of Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13? Tax Limitation Initiatives in 1996," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Los Angeles, March 19-21, 1998.
- "Special Interests and the Initiative Process in Colorado: The Case of the Parental Rights Amendment" (with Robert Herrington), Poster Session, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.
- "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Tucson, March 13-15, 1997.
- "Guided Immersion: A Non-Traditional Study Abroad Program at the University of Ghana at Legon," *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 10-12, 1997.
- "Exploring the Political Dimension of Privatization: A Tale of Two Cities" (with Kevin Leyden), *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 18-20, 1996.
- "Populist Entrepreneur: Douglas Bruce and the Tax Limitation Movement in Colorado," *20th Annual Interdisciplinary Symposium of the Politics and Culture of the Great Plains*, Lincoln, April 11-13, 1996.
- "Faux Populism: Douglas Bruce and the Anti-Tax Moment in Colorado, 1986-1992," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco, March 14-16, 1996.
- "Insular Democracy: Advisory Councils and Task Forces in the American States," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, March 1995.
- "Supporting Labor-Management Initiatives at the State Level: The Case of the West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council," *Southern Industrial Relations and Human Resource Conference*, Morgantown, WV, October 1994.
- "State Autonomy, Capacity, and Coherence: Labor-Management Councils in the American States," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Albuquerque, March 1994.
- "Removing the Pluralist Blinders: Labor-Management Councils and Industrial Policy in the American States," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, September 1992.
- "You Can't Live with Them...The Emerging Role of Organized Labor in Industrial Policy in the American States," *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 1992.
- "It Can Happen Here: Apprenticeship, Workplace-based Learning, and the Affirmative Role of Unions" (with Eric Parker), *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, Austin, TX, March 1992.
- "The Affirmative Role of U.S. Unions in Restructuring" (with Eric Parker), *American Sociological Association Conference*, Indianapolis, IN, August 1991.
- "Economic Development Strategy and the Problem of Skills: The Case of Wisconsin's Advanced Metalworking Sector" (with Eric Parker), *American Society for Public Administration Conference*, Cleveland, OH, October 1990.

#### **INVITED TALKS AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS**

- Keynote Speaker, "6 Things Every Democrat Should Know about Florida Elections," Democratic Women's Club of Florida, 63<sup>rd</sup> Annual Convention, Orlando, September 14, 2019.
- Invited Talk, "5 Things Every Floridian Should Know about Florida Elections," *Stetson University*, April 25, 2019.
- Invited Talk, "The 2018 Mid-Term Elections," Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 13, 2018.
- Invited Talk, "Is a Blue Wave Coming? The 2018 General Election," FedCon, National Association of Retired Federal Employees Association, Jacksonville, Florida, August 28, 2018.
- Invited Talk, "Voting Rights Litigation," ACLU of Florida, 2018 Lawyers Conference, Delray Beach, Florida, September 7, 2018.
- Invited Panelist, "The Black Vote: Is it being taken for Granted?" *Collaboratively Woke and The Virginia Leadership Institute*, Downtown Alachua Public Library, Gainesville, Florida, June 23, 2018.
- Invited Talk, "Public Records Requests and Analyzing Elections in Florida," The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, University of Florida, Gainesville, Civic Scholar Lecture, February 14, 2018.
- Invited Talk, "Voting in Florida," Voter Suppression Forum, The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, University of Florida, Gainesville, November 13, 2017.
- Invited Talk, "Journalist-Scholar Big Data Partnerships," Investigative Reporters and Editors, The National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting, Annual Conference, Jacksonville, FL, March 2, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "Florida's Constitutional Revision Commission and Game Theory," Future of Florida Summit, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, February 18, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "Explaining Trump's Win in Florida: 10 Election Myths and Realities," Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 14, 2016.
- Invited Response, Michael Kang (Emory School of Law) "Law and Politics of Judging Election Cases," University of Florida School of Law, Gainesville, Florida, November 4, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "Patterns of Political Participation in Florida," Women, Race, and the U.S. Presidency, The Center for The Study of Race and Race Relations & The Center for Gender, Sexualities, and Women's Studies Research, University of Florida, Gainesville, October 13, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "The Structural Pathologies of the American Electoral System," US Fulbright Association (UF International Center), Gainesville, September 27, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "Registered Voters and Turnout in Alachua County," Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce's Leadership Gainesville 43 Government and Policy Day, September 8, 2016.

- Invited Talk, "The Politics of Voter Suppression in Florida," Santa Fe College, American Democracy Project, February 9, 2016.
- Invited Talk, "The Contributions and Conundrums of Technology: EAVS Data Reporting Consistency," at The Evolution of Election Administration since the VRA, Auburn University, September 15, 2015 (with Lia Merivaki).
- Invited Talk, "2014 Election Wrap-Up," Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 6, 2014.
- Roundtable Participant, "I Am A Millennial: The Importance of the Youth and Minority Vote," Graham Center, University of Florida, October 23, 2014.
- Invited Talk, "Voting Rights in North Carolina," Emory University, Atlanta, April 8, 2014.
- Keynote Speaker, "Anticipating 2014: The State of Voting Rights in Florida," Gainesville Labor Council, Gainesville, Florida, December 9, 2013.
- Invited Talk, "Design Fail: The Attack on Voting Rights in Florida," University of Florida Retired Faculty, Harn Museum, University of Florida, February 22, 2013.
- Keynote Speaker, "The Attack on Voting Rights in Florida," Gainesville Labor Council, Gainesville, Florida, December 10, 2012.
- "Moved by the Spirit? Atmospherics and Ballot Measure Vote Choice," Initiatives and Referendums in the Elections of 2012, University of Southern California, November 16, 2012 (with Charles Dahan).
- Invited Talk, "Design #Fail: Voting Rights in Florida," Graham Center's Election Wrap Up: Decision 2012, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 13, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Consolidating Representation in Ghana? Parliamentary Malapportionment and Rejected Ballots," *Stability Amidst Chaos: Reflections on Two Decades of Ghanaian Democracy*, Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, October 12, 2012.
- Keynote Speaker, "Curtailling Voting Rights in Florida," *Civic Dialogues and the 2012 Election in the United States*, College of Central Florida, Ocala, Florida, October 22, 2012.
- Keynote Speaker, "The Return of Jim Crow? Voting Rights Under Florida's House Bill 1355," League of Women Voters, Annual Fall Luncheon, Gainesville, Florida, September 11, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Litigating Voting Rights in Florida," 8th Judicial Circuit Florida Bar Association, Continuing Legal Education, Gainesville, Florida, September 21, 2012.
- Invited Presentation, "The Impact of HB 1355 on Florida's Hispanics," Gator Academic Outreach Symposium, co-hosted by Hispanic Alumni Association and Miami-Dade College, Miami, FL, May 11, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Voting and Elections in the United States," US Embassy, Accra, Ghana, live satellite talk to US Embassy, Ivory Coast, October 3, 2011.
- Invited Public Lecture, "Ghana's National Electoral Commission and the 2012 Elections: The Malapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies, Rejected Ballots, and Questions of Representation," Department of Political Science International Lecture Series, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana, November 17, 2011. [Q&A followed by several media interviews, including RadioUniverse, Ghana Television Broadcasting and TV3].
- Invited Public Lecture, "Assessing the Credibility of Public Opinion Polls," Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Accra, Ghana, November 23, 2011. [Taped broadcast by TV3 and several FM stations].
- Invited Talk, "Obama to Blame?" Penn State University, February 26, 2010.
- Invited Talk, "Shirking the Initiative?" Rutgers University, November 6-7, 2008.
- Invited Talk, "Granting Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States," Bose Series Lecturer, University of Iowa, Iowa City, November 7-10, 2007.
- Invited Talk, "Instrumental Effects of the Initiative in the American States," The Voice of the Crowd—Colorado's Initiative, Byron R. White Center for the Study of American Constitutional Law, University of Colorado, Boulder, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, January 26, 2007.
- Invited Paper/Presentation, "Initiating Reform: The Effects of Ballot Measures on State Election and Ethics Policy," 2008 and Beyond: The Future of Election and Ethics Reform in the States, Ohio State Capital Building, Kent State University, January 16, 2007.
- Invited Paper/Presentation, "Financing Ballot Measures in the American States," Financing Referendum Campaigns Conference, University of Zurich, Switzerland, October 27-29, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Pressure at the Polls/Ballot Initiatives," Capitol Beat Conference, Columbus, OH, August, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Turnout and Priming Effects of Ballot Initiatives," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Spring Briefing, National Education Association, Washington, DC, May 11, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "The People as Legislators: The Influence of Direct Democracy," Moritz College of Law, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, March 3, 2006.
- Invited Public Debate, "Initiative Reform in Florida," *Orlando Regional Chamber of Commerce*, Orlando, FL, February 23, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Direct Democracy: The Battle over Citizen Lawmaking," *Minnesota Council of Nonprofits, Public Policy Day 2006: Nonprofits as a Force for Change*, Minneapolis, MN, January 26, 2006.
- Keynote Speaker, "Taking the Initiative in Florida," *National Conference of Editorial Writers* Regional Conference, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, October 16, 2005.
- Panelist, "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy," *Direct Democracy: Historical Roots and Political Realities*, The Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, April 14-15, 2005.

Panelist, "The Initiative and Referendum Process," *The 2004 Election: What Does it Mean for Campaigns and Governance?* University of Southern California Law School, Los Angeles, CA, October 8, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Florida's Initiative Process," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 21, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Educated by Initiative," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 6, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Are Initiatives Good or Bad for Business," *National Chamber of Commerce Federation*, Boca Raton, FL, February 22, 2004.

Panelist, "Roundtable on Florida Politics," *UF-FSU Colloquium*, Gainesville, FL, November 10, 2003.

Panelist, "Initiatives and Referenda: Implications for Public Administration and Governance," *National Academy of Public Administration*, Washington, DC, October 22, 2003.

Panelist, "Initiatives and Referenda: Direct Democracy or Government for Sale?" *New York Bar Association*, New York City, May 8, 2003.

Keynote Speaker, "Direct Democracy in Colorado: The (Sub)Urban-Rural Divide," *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, Denver, November 8, 2002.

Invited Talk, "Prospects for a Universal Health Care Ballot Initiative in Florida," Alachua County Labor Party, Gainesville, FL, January 25, 2002.

Invited Talk, "The 2000 Ghana Elections: Lessons for the Future," The Center for African Studies, *University of Florida*, Gainesville, August 28, 2001.

Panelist, "Graduate Studies in Canada and U.S.," *University of Ghana at Legon*, Accra, Ghana, March 14, 2001.

Invited Talk, "Media Coverage of the 2000 [Ghanaian] Elections," *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, March 2, 2001.

Invited Talk, "Ghana's 2000 Elections: The 'Politics of Absence,'" *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, February, 20, 2001.

Panelist, "Special Forum on U.S. Presidential Elections 2000," *University of Ghana at Legon*, Accra, Ghana, November 21, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Role of The Media in US Elections," *Public Affairs Section, United States Embassy*, Accra, Ghana, October 31, 2000.

Facilitator, "Three's A Crowd? The Fate of Third Parties in America," *Humanities Institute Salon*, Denver, May 4, 11, & 18, 2000.

Chair and Discussant, "Factors Affecting the Success of Initiatives," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Jose, March 24-26, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Progressive Myth: Direct Democracy in Colorado, 1912," *Willamette University*, February 3, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Initiative to Party: The Partisan - Ballot Initiative Nexus," *Willamette University*, February 3, 2000.

Invited Talk, "Taking the Initiative into the 21st Century," *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, Broomfield, January 27, 2000.

Invited Talk, "Foundations of the American Political System," *Zhejiang University*, Zhejiang, China, October 13, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Trade, Taiwan, Tiananmen, and Theft: Partisanship in US-China Relations," *Fudan University*, Shanghai, China, October 11, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Republicans, Democrats, and US-China Relations," *The People's University*, Beijing, China, October 9, 1999.

Invited Talk, "US-China Relations and the 2000 Presidential Election," *China Institute of Contemporary International Relations*, Beijing, China, October 7, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Taking the Initiative: The Role of Money in Ballot Initiatives in the US," *Aspen Community & Institute Committee*, Aspen, August 10, 1999.

Facilitator, "Taking the Initiative: The Politics of Direct Democracy in Colorado," *Humanities Institute Salon*, May 20, May 27, & June 3, 1999.

Invited Talk, "The State of Direct Democracy in Colorado," American Center Series, *University of Colorado at Boulder*, April 9, 1999.

Participant, "TABOR: Today & Tomorrow," Graduate School of Public Affairs, *University of Colorado at Denver*, January 20-21, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, "The Initiative Process: What You Need to Know," November 10, 1998.

Invited Talk, "The Political Economy of the Bronco's New Stadium Proposal," George Washington High School, *Reach Out DU*, October 15, 1998.

Invited Talk, "The Political Economy of the Bronco's New Stadium Proposal," Cherry Creek High School, *Reach Out DU*, October 15, 1998.

Invited Talk, "Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy," Tattered Cover Bookstore, Denver, August 20, 1998.

Academic Session Leader, "The Politics of Building a New Broncos Stadium," West High School VIP Program, *University of Denver*, April 17, 1998.

Participant, "Proposition 13 and its Progeny: Is California Suffering from an Excess of Democracy?" Institute of Governmental Studies, *University of California, Berkeley*, April 1-2, 1998.

Moderator, "Politics 101," Student Forum, *University of Denver*, March 3, 1998.

Panelist, "Ways to use Technology in Teaching," Dean's Luncheon on Teaching and Learning, *University of Denver*, February 20, 1998.

Panelist, "The End of Empire in Ghana, 1957," The End of Empire: 50 Years of British Withdrawal, Center for Teaching International Relations, *University of Denver*, February 7, 1998.

Moderator, "1996 Candidate Forum," DU Programs Board, *University of Denver*, October 28, 1996.

Invited Talk, "Election 1996," KARIS Community, Denver, October 24, 1996.

Invited Talk, "Faux Populism: Douglas Bruce, Populist Entrepreneur, and the Anti-Tax Moment in Colorado," Humanities Institute, *University of Denver*, October 17, 1996.

Panelist, "The Federal Budget Battle," Sponsored by Omicron Delta Epsilon and Pi Sigma Alpha, *University of Denver*, October 2, 1995.

Invited Talk, "US Energy Policy," Highlands Ranch High School, *Reach Out DU*, November 10, 1995.

Panelist, "Study Abroad," Second Annual University Conference: Internationalization at the University of Denver, *University of Denver*, April, 1994.

Chair and Panelist, "African Studies," Second Annual University Conference: Internationalization at the University of Denver, *University of Denver*, April, 1994.

Panelist, "Public Policy and Work Force Participation: Making the School-to-Work Transition," Public Policy and Work Force Participation Seminar, *University of Pittsburgh*, September 15, 1993.

Rapporteur, "City\$Money Conference," The La Follette Institute for Public Affairs, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*, February 4-6, 1992.

#### **EDITORIAL/ADVISORY BOARDS/REVIEWER**

Review Board, *National Science Foundation*, 2016

Editorial Board, *State Politics and Policy*, 1999-2007; 2014-2016

Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal*, 2012-2016.

Review Board, *American Political Science Association (APSA) Small Research Grant Program*, 2004-05.

Review Board, *Fulbright/ American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellowship Program*, 2002-2005.

Academic Advisory Board, *Annual Editions, State & Local Government* (Brown & Benchmark), 1995-.

Sub-Field Editor, *State Politics, FirstResearch*, 1999-2001.

#### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Political Science Association, 1990-  
State Politics and Policy Section, 2000-  
President, 2013-2015  
Executive Council, 2010-2012  
Political Organizations and Parties Section, 2000-  
Midwest Political Science Association, 1990-  
Southern Political Science Association, 2001-  
Western Political Science Association, 1994-  
Local Co-Host, Annual Meeting (Denver), 2003  
Chair, Committee on Membership, Attendance, and Registration, 1998-2000  
Section Chair, State Politics and Policy, 1999 Annual Conference (Seattle)  
Member, Charles Redd Politics of the American West Award Committee, 1999  
Chair, Best Dissertation Award Committee, 1999-2001  
Florida Political Science Association (1994-)  
Section Chair, State Politics, 2004 Annual Conference (Gainesville)

#### **PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS**

Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2011.

Research Scholar, *Bill Lane Center for the Study of the American West*, Stanford University, 2007.

Senior Research Scholar, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3), Washington, DC, (www.ballot.org), 2006.

Board of Directors, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3), Washington, DC, 2000-2019.

Board of Scholars, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, USC Law School, University of Southern California, 2004-.

Senior Research Fellow, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, Washington, DC, 1998-2003.

Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01.

President & Co-Founder, *Citizens Institute for Voter Information in Colorado (CIVIC)*, Denver, CO, 1998-2001.

#### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

##### **University of Florida**

##### **College/University**

Appointed Member, Latin American Studies Search Committee (Latino Studies), 2014-15

Appointed Member, Political Science/African Studies Search Committee, 2013-14

Appointed Member, 20<sup>th</sup> Century American History Search Committee (History), 2008-09

Appointed Member, Latino Studies Search Committee (LAS), 2006-07

Departmental Representative, United Faculty of Florida, 2003-



Alternate Senator, United Faculty of Florida, 2005-  
 State Delegate, Florida Education Association, 2006-  
 Elected Member, College of Arts and Sciences, Nominating Committee, 2004-06  
 Appointed Member, University of Florida Fulbright Committee, 2003-07

#### **Department**

Chair, 2017-  
 Graduate Coordinator, 2014-2016  
 Associate Chair, 2013-2014  
 Appointed Member, Informatics Search Committee (Departmental Representative), 2013-14  
 Appointed Member, Promotion (Full) Review Committee (Service), Leonardo Villalon, 2011  
 Appointed Member, Promotion (Full) Review Committee (Research), Badredine Arfi, 2010  
 Elected Member, Chair's Advisory Committee, 2004-05; 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08 (Chair); 2010-11; 2012-13  
 Elected Member, Chair Search Committee, 2004; 2009  
 Appointed Member, Tenure Review Committee (Research), Daniel O'Neill, 2008  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, State Senator Mike Haridopolos, 2008-09  
 Appointed Member, Strategic Planning Committee, 2008-09  
 Appointed Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-11  
 Appointed Member, Committee to establish Undergraduate Certificate in Political Campaigning, 2007  
 Elected Member, Market Equity Committee, 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08; 2008-09 (Chair)  
 Appointed Internship Coordinator, 2005-  
 Elected Member, Merit Committee, 2004-05; 2005-06; 2006-07 (Chair)  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Marcus Hendershot, 2006-  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Helena Rodrigues, 2005-06  
 Appointed Member, Ad-Hoc Graduate Teaching Committee, 2005-06  
 Appointed Member (Chair), Latino Politics Search Committee, 2004-05  
 Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Samuel Barkin), 2004.  
 Appointed Member, Mid-Career and Mentoring Task Force, 2004-05  
 Appointed Member, Speakers Committee (Chair), 2003-05.  
 Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Richard Conley), 2003.  
 Appointed Member, Political Science Best Undergraduate Paper Award Committee, 2003-04

#### **University of Denver**

Social Science Promotion and Tenure Committee, 1999-2000  
 Joint Ph.D. Program in Religious and Theological Studies, (with *Iliff School of Theology*), 1999-2002  
 AH/SOCS Grade Appeals Committee, 1999-2001  
*Phi Beta Kappa* Selection Committee, *Gamma* of Colorado, 1998-2002  
 Partners in Scholarship (PINS) Committee, 1997-2000  
 AH/SOCS Elected Faculty Committee, 1996-98  
 Post-Tenure Review Committee, 1996-98  
 SOAR (Summer Orientation), 1997-2000  
 Faculty Senate Representative, 1995-1996  
 Study Abroad Faculty Advisory Committee, 1995-2000  
 Study Abroad Travel Scholarships Committee, 1995-2000  
 Faculty Member, Culture and Critical Studies Program, 1995-2000  
 Faculty Mentor, 1995-2000  
 Reach-Out DU, 1995-2000  
 Advisor, Department of Political Science Honors Program, 1995-1996

#### **MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

Quoted more than 1,000 times by the media (newspaper, radio, television) on various political issues, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Bloomberg*, *The Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *CNN*, *CBS News*, *Fox News*, *National Public Radio*, *Tampa Bay Times*, *Miami Herald*, *Florida Times-Union*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, etc.